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'NUMISMATICS WITH SPECIAL RELATION TO SOUTH INDIA'

A paper read before the Mythic Society

By Dewan Bahadur T. Desika Chariar, B.A., B.L.

The science of numismatics treats of coins and medals and its special utility consists in the light shed by these monuments of a past and forgotten civilization on the history, chronology, religion and art of the times in which they were issued. As an amusing and interesting hobby the collection of coins is second to none, while it is raised far above the common place by its historic associations.

In a country like India the importance of numismatic or archæological studies cannot be much overrated. It is a notorious fact that the Indians themselves wrote no history. Within the vast range of their voluminous and varied literature, history is conspicuous by its absence. Our learned men absorbed in the profound speculation of the unsolvable mystery of existence regarded with indifference the concerns of this transitory world which they accounted as unreal, as a scene of illusion, or, to use the expression of some of them, 'Maya.' If they recounted the exploits of their martial heroes or the virtues of their wise and just kings, the account was always enveloped in a veil of allegorical and religious detail without any regard to chronology.

It behoves, therefore, those that take interest in the history of the ancient dynasties of this country to pay greater attention than is now done to such unerring guides as coins and inscriptions and by a careful study of them to weave out something like a connected history of India.

From the earliest times known, money seems to have been coined in gold, silver, copper and lead. The most ancient of the coins are in silver, that metal having been evidently coined as money for ages before gold was adopted as the standard. The former metal which had been imported in plates into India was cut into small flat pieces, sometimes square, sometimes round, weighing generally from fifty to sixty grains. Did this silver coinage belong to South India? Did the metal out of which these coins are fashioned, believed to have been imported by the Phœnicians into northern India, not enter the market of that portion of India, called 'the Peninsula', till a later age, possibly till the time of the Chola ascendancy in the tenth and eleventh centuries after the Christian era? I am inclined to answer these questions in the affirmative. Long before the Tamil country began to feel the influence of the Aryan immigrants from the north, even before the time of the emperor Asoka, the Tamils had an extensive commercial and maritime intercourse with Assyria and ancient Accadia. Silver 'Karshapanas' were current in the time of Buddha, in the sixth century B.C., and according to Sir A. Cunningham, they may have been current as early as 1,000 years before Jesus Christ. The silver coins found in South India need not then have found their way from the north, brought thither to serve the exigencies of commerce or by Aryan immigrants into the Deccan. The similarity between the specimens found in the extreme south of India and those occurring in northern India must be explained by far other reasons than those furnished by the current theory of their introduction into southern India from the north.

Of the three great Hindu powers of the south, the Pandyan dynasty had evidently no silver coinage at all, while no silver Chola coins before the tenth century are known. One comes across thin silver pieces now and then, attributable to the other ancient South Indian kingdom, namely, that of the Cheras, but their identification as the issues of the Chera mint is very doubtful. Coming to later times, while the Vijianagar gold currency seems to have been both prolific and varied, there is such an extreme paucity in their silver currency that even the genuineness of the few silver coins known of the king Deva Roya is well open to question, regard being had particularly to the varied and numerous currency both in copper and gold of the long and prosperous reign of Deva Roya.

By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, silver became, along with gold, the normal medium of currency; and we find the silver rupee, first introduced by Sher Shah, gradually taking a permanent place in the monetary system of South India.

The gold currency consisted of 'Swarnas', 'Tankas', 'Varagans', 'Pons' and, later on, of 'Pagodas' and silver and gold 'Panams' their multiples or subdivisions. The rich colour of gold seems to have charmed the human eye in all ages, and hence the name given to it in Sanskrit, 'Swarna'—literally

of beautiful colour. It is not easy to say when gold first began to be coined as money; at the time of Darius, the Indians paid a tribute to him of 360 talents of 'gold dust' and they obtained a great quantity of gold out of which they supplied the dust by a curious process which Herodotus describes in detail. The name 'Swarna', was perhaps originally applied to a packet of 'gold dust' of a particular weight; and when gold of that weight or value was coined into money the word 'Swarna', was applied to the coin itself, just in the same way as the Tamil word 'Pon'—literally meaning gold—came to be employed to denominate a gold coin. There can be no doubt that gold money was current in South India from a very early period. The coins of Sundara Pandya of an antique type, the coins of Raja Raja and Lankeswara of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the pagodas of the Chalukyas and those of the last great kingdom of the south, namely, Vijianagar, are among the familiar instances of old gold coins found in southern India. Inscriptions of the Chola king Raja Raja mention a gold 'Kalanju' and a gold 'Kâsu', the latter of which evidently weighed about twenty-eight grains and passed for the value of the metal. The several European Companies, which originally came into the country for trade and were driven in course of time to issue coins for the exigencies of their factories and settlements, coined gold 'pagodas' and 'panams' in imitation of the customers whose trade they catered for. Nor are wanting pagodas of the Muḥammadan sovereignties which established themselves in southern India and made themselves felt in the dominions which once had acknowledged the supremacy or suzerainty of Vijianagar. Hyder and Tippu both coined money in gold and a visit to the Bangalore bazaars will reward the ardent coin collector with a find of the issues of both these remarkable personalities of different years and mints.

Copper money in India was possibly as old as, if not older than, the silver money already referred to and by far the most interesting specimens are met with in this metal and in lead. It is not possible now to understand how a metal so easily liable to decay as lead became a medium of currency. Pliny records that in ancient India lead was exchanged for pearls, ivory and precious stones. The coinage of the Andhra dynasty who ruled in the northern districts of this Presidency in the early centuries of the Christian era, was in this metal, and in later times the Danish East India Company, which had its settlement at Tranquebar, coined lead coins. The exact ratio borne by these lead pieces to silver or copper coins it is not possible easily to ascertain.

The Portuguese East India Company issued coins in *Tutenag*, an alloy of *copper and zinc* and the British East India Company is known to have coined money called Budgrooks in the same metal.

Thus the currency in South India, in the period antecedent to the Muḥammadan conquest and even during the days of the several European trading companies comprised the precious metals, gold and silver, and the ordinary metals, copper, lead and zinc.

Dealing next with the *devices and legends* found on South Indian coins and the lessons that they teach us, it is best to divide the coins into four great classes:

(1) Those belonging to a period anterior to the ascendancy of the Chola power in the south, that is, from the earliest times that we have any record of till the tenth century A.D.

(2) Those anterior to the rise of the Vijianagar kingdom, that is, from the eleventh till the fourteenth century.

(3) Those that were issued by the last great Hindu kingdom and by various 'usurpers', both Hindu and Muḥammadan, during the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.

(4) Those that were issued by the several European Companies that traded in the east in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the various Hindu and Muḥammadan kingdoms, 'whose quarrels, wars and struggles for supremacy "kept the whole country in confusion" for two and a half centuries.'

I. To the first class belong those small copper pieces, of distinctly Roman type found in, and around, modern Madura, the ancient capital of the Pandyan kingdom. From their size and their probably insignificant value, as well as the large number in which they abound, it is tolerably certain that they were not imported into India by Roman merchants, who, however, undoubtedly enjoyed an extensive commercial intercourse with the Pandya and Chola countries in the early centuries of the Christian era; these small pieces were probably the products of a local mint established at Madura to meet the exigencies of a Roman colony that had settled there. Their distinctive feature, unlike that of the rest of the ancient coinage of South India, consists in their obverse bearing *the bust of an Emperor*, with a legend which runs partly round the design. On specimens till now obtained the legend is too far gone to be decipherable. Finds of Roman Aurii and Denarii are now and then unearthed in the southern districts of the Madras Presidency and they belong mostly to the period of the Western Empire. It is remarkable that in many cases these Aurii are either cut in the middle or have two holes bored near the edge, leading to the conclusion that these marks were imprinted on the coins to make them current as money in the province or kingdom where they were brought by Roman merchants.

Of about the same age as the Roman copper coins are the beautifully executed square pieces in copper issued by the Pandyan kings who, from before the fifth or sixth century B.C., ruled in the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts, with their capital sometimes at Korkai in the latter district and latterly at a place called Madura near the site of the modern town of that name. These bear on their obverse the figure of an elephant or a bull, often with one or more riders, accompanied by various emblems of the

Buddhist faith. These figures and designs are so realistically and skilfully executed that one is tempted to conjecture that their high finish might be due to the impulse received by Indian art from contact with the Greeks who came with Alexander the Great and with whom it is aptly remarked 'Art was Religion.'

These were not the only coins of the period which bore Buddhist emblems, for the Andhra dynasty, a powerful *kingdom* referred to by Pliny, issued, about the beginning of the Christian era, coins in lead which along with the bow and the arrow, the horse, lion, bull and elephant bore various devices peculiar to the religion of Buddha. Unlike coins of the Pandyan kingdom, these give the names of the reigning monarch such as Gôtamiputra and Satakarni. Moreover, the Andhras seem to have been a maritime people, for a large number of their coins bear the figure of a two or three-masted ship. Such a design would be uncommon in a race whose trade was purely inland and whose commercial intercourse was confined to the imports that flowed into their territory from other parts of South India.

Later in date than these are the series of Pandyan coins, which have on their obverse the figure of a fish, single, double or crossed, which was the dynastic emblem of the Pandyans. On their reverse are readable, legends in Tamil, more or less high sounding titles of the Prince that issued them, but furnishing no definite data for the identification of the name of the Prince himself or the age in which he ruled. Such titles are 'Avanipa Segaran', 'Avanipendiran', 'Sundara Pandyan', 'Kachivalangum Perumal', 'Chonadu Kondan or Cheranadu Kondan' and 'Kodandaraman'. The first two of these literally mean that the king was the ornament of the earth or the Indra or Lord of the earth. It is beyond doubt that previous to the ascendancy of the Chola power in the south under Parantaka I, who ruled in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. at Woriyur, the Pandyan kingdom was supreme, and thus it would be nothing strange if the scions of that race claimed to be the ornaments or lords of all creation. The legends, 'Chonadu or Cheranadu Kondan' and 'Kachivalangum Perumal' evidently refer to that state of constant warfare between the *Chola, Chera and Pandyan* Powers and the victories of the one over the other which form a distinctive feature of the indigenous accounts of the Muvuarasars. The meaning of 'Chonadu Kondan' is 'the sovereign who conquered the Chola country' and that of 'Kachivalangum Perumal', 'the king who gave back Kanchi'. The town Kanchi or Conjeevaram in the Chingleput District was at one time the capital of the Cholas and the Pandyan king after having overrun this capital generously gave it back to the vanquished king and commemorated the event by issuing a medal with the legend in question. Similarly a victorious Pandyan commemorated the success of his arms against the Cingalese kings of Ceylon, in the course of those frequent hostilities that characterized the intercourse of the kings of the island with those of the mainland, and

assumed the 'birudu' of 'Kodandaraman', believing, with pardonable vanity, that he was a second Rama who conquered Ceylon.

While the Pandyans were ruling in the southernmost portion of the Presidency at some period subsequent to that of Asoka, the Pallavas appeared on the scene and rose into great prominence on the Coromandel coast and enjoyed an extensive foreign trade. Their coins, met with in large numbers at Mahablipuram and generally in the sea side villages on the coast, are thin copper pieces, with the figure of the lion, horse or bull or three masted ship as the typical device on their obverse and with legends which sometimes give the names of the ruling king. Buddhism or Jainism must have had a strong hold in South India as the prevailing religious faith during the period of the currency of these coins, for they are, though in a different metal, of almost the same type as the issues of the 'Andhra Bhrityas' and bear the same characteristic Buddhistic devices. The circular seal attached to the ring on which are strung the Velurpalayam plates copied by the Assistant Government Epigraphist in the year 1910-11 has on it the figure of a recumbent bull facing the proper right flanked on either side by two lampstands. Above the bull appear eight other symbols among which are the Buddhist Swastika. These devices are surmounted by a Chatra and two Chamaras (the state umbrella and flywhisks with ornamental handles). To collectors of South Indian coins these devices are familiar as those of the coins of the Pallavas.

To much the same period must be attributed the coins with the figure of a boar on their obverse, that animal having been looked upon as the dynastic emblem of the Chalukyans who grew into power in the western and northern Deccan, in about the fifth or sixth century A. D., and eventually exercised considerable influence in southern India, particularly after their intermarriage with the powerful Chola kingdom of the south. The Sanskrit equivalent of the boar is 'Varaham', and the name of the gold pagoda in South India passed by the name 'Varahan', from its originally having been issued by the Chalukyans with the 'boar' emblem. In course of time, the 'Swarna' with the device of a boar, came to be known by the name of the device itself just as the 'Sovereign' and 'Guinea' in England came to be so known from the former bearing for the first time the portrait of the Sovereign in the reign of Henry VII, and the latter from the coin having been minted from gold brought from Guinea by the 'Company of Royal Adventurers' of England trading with Africa in the time of Charles II.

II. Passing to the coinage of the next period, of the Chola ascendancy anterior to the rise of the great kingdom of Vijianagar, one meets with the Chola emblem which was a tiger just as that of the Pandyas was the fish, and that of the Cheras, a bow. During the palmy days of the Chola sovereignty, all these three emblems were united on their coins and seals, thus giving rise to the familiar device on the obverse of Chola coins, which is

made up of a tiger in the middle flanked by the fish and the bow, the emblems of the rival kingdoms, that, at this period, held but a subordinate place. Coins with their device, bore on the exergue, in Devanagiri, the name of the king that issued them and are generally found in silver in the Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Madura Districts. Copper coins of this type are so far unknown, though a gold coin, with the tiger alone in the middle, with the Grandha legend 'Uttamachola' is figured by Sir W. Elliot in his contribution to the *Numismata Orientalia*. The silver coins bear the following names: 'Raja Raja Rajendra Chola', 'Uttama Chola,' and 'Gangaikonda Chola.' On some quaint cup-shaped gold coins occurs the name *Raja Chola Narayana* in Canarese. These were evidently of the Chola Chalukya Period, when a Chola Viceroy ruled at Rajahmundry, but it may be noted that King Parantaka I (900 to 940) also went by the name of Vira Narayana Chola. They are disc shaped, with the figure of the boar in the centre, and the legend distributed in the margin. Of these titles, 'Gangai Konda Chola' is of special interest as having been assumed by a Chola king in commemoration of the transfer of the seat of government to the town that bears his name. The title itself was assumed by King Rajendra Chola (1011 to 1032) after his victory over the Ganga kings. This town continued to be the capital even during the times of the great king Kulottunga Chola I who ascended the throne in 1062 or 1063.

The most numerous and ordinarily found of the Chola coins are from the reign of the great king Raja Raja *alias* Mummudi Konda Chola (985 to 1016). His copper, silver and gold coins always have on the obverse the figure of a king arrayed in regal robes while on the reverse the same figure is represented in a seated position with the legend in Devanagiri 'Raja Raja' to the right. These are the typical devices of the coins of the Ceylon kings, the Ilā Kâsu, which seem to have been current in southern India even during the time of the Chola ascendancy as shown by an inscription copied by the Assistant Government Epigraphist in 1910–11. The introduction of this device on the coins of the greatest monarch of his age in South India, points to the undoubted fact that he was completely successful in his operations against the king of Ceylon.

Coins with the standing figure above referred to occur also in great variety, the most noteworthy being those with the figures of the bull, or the elephant or the boar on the reverse. The coins with the bull and the boar on the reverse, generally have the syllable 'Vi' in Canarese or Nagari in front of the typical device, the same standing for *Vira* (A.D. 1078) or *Vikrama* (A.D. 1108) Chola. Those with the elephant on the reverse have the Tamil syllable '*Ma*' probably referring to the Maravarmans, many of whom are known to the student of South Indian epigraphy.

Though the Pandyan kingdom came at this time to occupy only a subordinate position, it had its own coinage in which the fish emblem was

associated with the Chola 'standing and seated figures', already adverted to, or sometimes with the boar device of the Chalukyas with the legends 'Sundara Pandyan', 'Ellântalaiyanan', 'Kaliyugaraman', 'Butalaviran', 'Chera Kularaman.' Of these types, those with the legend 'Sundara Pandya' are of great importance in so far as they by their diversity furnish material for concluding that both the late Bishop Caldwell and Mr. Nelson were in error in their assumption that 'Sundara Pandya' was the name of a particular monarch ruling in the Pandyan country in A.D. 1293, when Marco Polo landed on the Tinnevelly coast. The meaning of the word 'Sundara' is *beautiful* and Sunderaswarar, God of Madura, must have had something to do with the name 'Sundara' occurring so often. Coins assignable to the seventh and eighth centuries, equally with those of the Chola Chalukya period, have all of them the legend 'Sundara Pandya.' This could not be, were there not more than one monarch that gloried in the honorific appellation of 'the beautiful Pandya', and it will therefore be wrong to identify that last of the first line of Pandyan kings converted from Jainism to the Hindu faith with the 'Sonder Bandi' referred to by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo as having ruled in the Peninsula in the thirteenth century. Māravarman Sundara and Jatāvarman Sundara of different periods have issued inscriptions between the tenth and twelfth centuries and the variety of designs on coins bearing the legend Sundara Pandyan must be owing to their having been issued in different ages by succeeding monarchs who bore the title Sundara.

The gradual revival of the old Hindu faith and the extinction of Buddhism from the land are well exemplified by the coins of the Pandyan kings. In the old ones the chief emblems are of the Buddhistic religion; these are followed by the dynastic emblem of the Pandyan kings, namely the fish. This emblem they seemed to have assumed, when, in the religious revival that followed the decay of Buddhism, they wanted to claim kinship with the Aryan race of kings from whom were descended the heroes of the Mahabharata. It is recounted in the great epic that one of its heroes the Pandu Brothers by successfully shooting his arrow through the eye of a golden fish, which was kept revolving at a great height, got the hand of Draupadi at a 'Swayamwara': and he, in his peregrinations, is said to have married a Pandyan king's daughter. This tradition, true or false, was evidently pressed into the service of a proud Pandyan who claimed to have Aryan blood flowing in his veins and therefore used the fish banner as one of his regal insignia. Along with the fish were associated the emblems of the Saivite and the Vishnuvite faiths and indeed the coin of Kaliyuga Raman bears the device of the feet of Vishnu such as those worshipped by devotees of the Vaishnava sect.

The art displayed in the coins of this period cannot be commended: the devices are ill executed and the coins themselves are lumps of copper without edgings, and are, mostly, irregular in shape whilst the arrangement of the devices and legends is in total disregard of all symmetry or proportion,

thus displaying a decadence in Indian art from the height that had been reached in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The coins of the Cingalese kings of Ceylon, 'Parakram Bahu', 'Viyjaya Bahu', 'Srimatsahasa Malla', 'Bhuvanekabahu', 'Sri Raja Lilavathi', and 'Dharmasoka Malla', 'mashas', as they were called, and their subdivisions, abound in large numbers in South India. Nor are finds wanting, in which gold coins of the Cingalese kings occur, though less frequently, with the legend 'Lankeswara'. A considerable intercourse undoubtedly always existed between South India and Ceylon, across the pearl-laden seas that divide them and the Cingalese chronicles often boast of victories of the kings of the Island over the Pandyas and Cholas of the Mainland. It is not surprising therefore to find Cingalese coins abounding in such large numbers in South India.

III. In the fourteenth century, the Vijianagar power began to rise in importance, and just about the same time, the Muḥammadan kingdoms of South India, under the viceroys that usurped sovereign power, also began to rule in different parts of the Deccan and the Peninsula.

The coinage of the Vijianagar dynasty, mostly in two metals, viz. gold and copper, furnishes a numerous series of very different types. The emblems all show that the old Hindu religion had completely revived and become the state religion of the Vijianagar kingdom and generally of South India. The coins of at least eleven of the kings of this race have been found. 'Harihara', 'Vira Bhupati,' 'Vijia Bukka,' 'Mallikarjuna,' 'Deva,' 'Krishna,' 'Sadasiva,' Achyuta,' 'Rama,' 'Sri Ranga,' are some of the kings whose coins have been published up to date. Of these, the most numerous are the copper coins of 'Deva Roya,' bearing, on the obverse, the figure of a bull, and the *Nagari* or *Canarese* legend 'Sri Deva Roya.' Some of them bear his 'birudas' or titles such as 'Nilakanta', 'Uttama', 'Raya Gaja Ganda Bherunda.' The coins of the earlier Vijianagar kings bear distinctly Saivite emblems, while the later kings seem to have affected Vaishnava devices; but it is not unusual for the same monarch to issue coins bearing both Vaishnava and Saivite emblems, and the spirit of toleration that forms one of the essential features of the old Vedic religion seems to have been fostered and encouraged by the princes of the last great Hindu kingdom of the south, true to the teachings of the learned Vidyaranya, who is supposed to have helped in founding the city and to have counselled its kings.

The legends on the Vijianagar coins are generally in Canarese in the early series, while they are in Devanagiri characters in the later ones.

The 'tankas' issued by the Vijianagar kings, as well as their pagodas, are the objects of worship at the present day; and it is not unusual to find forged 'Rama Tankas' and 'Umamaheswari' and 'Venkatapathi' pagodas in the bazaars.

The only silver coin known of the Vijianagar dynasty belongs to the prosperous reign of Deva Roya and bear his name on the reverse, while on

the obverse is the figure of an elephant. There are reasons for doubting its genuineness. 'Siva' and 'Parvathi,' on the gold coins of Harihara and Deva Roya; the bull on the coins of Vijia Bukka Roya and Deva Roya; Vishnu and his consort on the coins of the later kings; the 'Ganda Berunda' —a mythical double-headed eagle bearing elephants in its beak and its claws—sometimes a boar, on the coins of Achyuta Roya; the anthropoid monkey-god, Hanuman, on the coins of Vira Bhapati Roya; these are among the devices most commonly met with on Vijianagar coins. They form altogether a very interesting series and are obtainable in large numbers in almost all the districts of the Presidency, this fact indicating that the wealth and importance of the Vijianagar kingdom and the extent of its dominion must have been considerable during the zenith of its power.

The Muḥammadan usurpers of the Moghul power in the south issued their coins in copper, billon and silver. Of these those that were discovered and published, partly by Mr. Rogers and partly by myself and Dewan Bahadur T. M. Rangachariar, belong to the Bhamini kings of Deccan, the Adil Shah dynasty of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmednagar and the Qutb-shahi dynasties at Golconda. Large numbers of coins bearing the legend 'Muhammad Tughlak' are found in South India; and this monarch's 'forced' *tankas* are also occasionally to be found in the Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly Districts. These Muḥammadan coins are generally in copper, silver or billon and bear the name of the king and in many cases the year in which they were issued, a feature unknown in the coinage of the great Hindu kingdom of the south.

The earlier Moghul coins are of very rare occurrence in South India, those sold as Akbar Mohurs and Rupees being most probably forgeries effected for the ready sale that they find for the sake of the 'Khalima' or the sacred text, held in veneration by Muḥammadans, which forms part of the legend on these coins.

So far, the coinage of the principal Hindu and Muḥammadan kingdoms of the south has been dealt with; but this, by no means, completes the coinage of the indigenous South Indian dynasties. After the fatal battle of Talikota, which marked the fall of the last great Hindu kingdom of the south, numerous petty principalities grew into power. Each chieftain issued coins of his own, with distinctive devices; but the most marked of them, were the coins of the Nayakas of Madura, the Sethupathis of Ramnad and the Tondamans of Pudukota. It may be noted that the figures and devices, on the Nayak coinage comprise the whole of the Hindu Pantheon, thus bearing the impress of the later Hinduism that was the prevailing religion of the times. The coins of the Sethupathis too, and the Pudukota Tondamans are both of the same type—thick lumps of copper without edgings and bear various devices, the commonest of them being the bull.

All these are in copper and during twenty-five years of coin hunting, I have

not met with any in gold or silver attributable to these royal families. No review of the coinage of South India will be complete without the history of the coinage of the various European trading companies that came into India in the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries nor of that of the Nawabs of the Carnatic. To deal with them in any detail will take more time than is now at our disposal.

The science of numismatics is of recent growth in every country: and in India, in particular, it is in its infancy. There are very few collectors of old coins and the number seems to be much less than of those who are partial to the comparatively unprofitable pursuit of the collection of stamps. Moreover, the mania for jewellery in India is in the way of the numismatist, for any coin in the precious metals is at once taken to the melting pot to be converted into a trinket. The progress made by South Indian numismatics notwithstanding these discouraging concomitants is fair. The various Hindu kingdoms that held sway in South India are all represented by their coinage from the time of the Andhra and the Pandyan dynasties in the early centuries of the Christian era down to the Nayak rule in South India. Nor are wanting souvenirs from the period when, during the distracted condition of South Indian affairs, the rival Mussalman leaders pressed downwards from Delhi, usurped the authority of the Mussalman emperor and established independent sovereignties in the Deccan. We have an insight too into the religion of the country and the change that was introduced into the religious beliefs of the people, from the time when Buddhism was the prevalent faith in the Peninsula, till the revival of the old religion of the Vedas and the various subdivisions that were engrafted on the Vedic religion; though, so far as chronology is concerned, it must be admitted that South Indian coins render us very little help for the absence of the date of issue is a peculiar feature in the indigenous coinage of the country. Yet we have the pleasing reflection too that in those days the ruling dynasties had evidently no problems of exchange and bimetallism to grapple with and silver and gold were equally and always current as money in their territories.

Each one of the departments of the coinage of South India that I have been dealing with such as Andhra, Pandya, Chola, Chalukya, and Vijianagar will furnish matter enough for more than one paper and no justice can be done to any of them in the brief space of an hour. But I hope I have succeeded in showing that a careful and intelligent study of the history of the coinage of this country will repay the trouble of all students and that, to the student of history in particular, South Indian numismatics has its special attraction.

ŚRAVANA-BELGOḶA

By the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S.

By far the most interesting place which the members of the Mythic Society have visited in Mysore, is Śravana Belgoḷa.[1] If the story which has been accepted quite seriously by several authors that the great Mauryan emperor, Chandragupta, abdicated, became a Jain monk, came to southern India with the last of Śruta Kevalis, Bhadrabahu, and died at Śravana-Belgoḷa could be proved true, then Śravana-Belgoḷa would be one of the most historical and interesting spots not only in the Mysore province but also in the whole of India.

It is a large village in the Chennarāyapaṭna taluk of the Hassan district and is the chief seat of the Jains in southern India.

One can reach Śravana-Belgoḷa by motor either from the Asikere or French Rocks railway stations. We chose the latter route and motoring on a fairly good road through Krishnarajpet brought us to Chennarāyapaṭna. It is a matter of regret that the eight miles between Chennarāyapaṭna and Belgoḷa should be over a road so rough that His Excellency the Governor of Madras, Sir A. Lawley, who was there a week before us, found it impossible on account of the heavy rain to motor up to the place, but had to use the carriage placed at his disposal by His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore. We were more fortunate, though it was not an easy matter to overcome the difficulties of a bad road in the rainy season.

The run can be made from Bangalore direct, a distance of about ninety-two miles to Chennarāyapaṭna on the road leading from Bangalore to the western coast through the Manjarabad Ghat and then to Belgoḷa another eight miles, making in all about one hundred miles.

This sacred spot derives its name Belgoḷa from Haḷe Kaṇṇaḍa *bel* (white) and *koḷa* (by euphony goḷa) pond, in allusion to the tank in the middle of the place. This tank is well shown in one of the illustrations accompanying this paper. Śravana = Śramaṇa means a Baudha or Jaina ascetic. This name prefixed to Belgoḷa distinguishes it from the other two Belgoḷas in the

[1] This paper is based almost entirely on the Introduction to the 'Inscriptions at Śravana-Belgoḷa' by Mr. L. Rice.

SRAVANA BELGOLA

Scale 1 inch = 400 feet

Jinanathapur

CHANDRA GIRI

Belgola

SRAVANA BELGOLA

VINDHYA GIRI

The Jaina religious theories and practices, in many respects, closely resemble those of the Buddhists. They acknowledge no supreme governor, believe in transmigration, regard all animal life as sacred, reverence the Jinas or Tirthankaras, because they believe them to have overcome all human desires, and to have attained Nirvana ; but they have no veneration for relics.

'The proper objects of worship are the twenty-four Jinas or Tirthankaras, but like the Buddhists, they allow the existence of Hindu gods, and have admitted into their sculptures at least such of them as are connected with the tales of their saints—among which are Indra or Sakra, Garuda, Sarasvati, Lakshmi, Asuras, Nagas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas, Asparasas, etc., forming a pantheon of their own, divided into four classes—Bhavandipatis, Vyantaras, Jyotishkas, and Vaimanikas.

'The first peculiarity that strikes one as distinguishing the Jaina architecture of the south from that of the north, is the division of the southern temples into two classes, called bastis and bettas. The former are temples in the usual acceptance of the word, as understood in the north, and, as there, always containing an image of one of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, which is the object there worshipped. The latter are unknown in the north and are courtyards usually on a hill or rising ground, open to the sky and containing images, not of a Tirthankara, but of Gommata or of Gommateśvara so called, though he is not known to the Jains in the north. Though not the grandest, certainly the most elegant and graceful objects to be found in Jaina style of architecture are the stambhas, which are found attached to many of their temples. These are not, however, peculiar to the style. They are used sometimes by the Hindus, but then frequently as dipdans, or lamp-bearing pillars, and in that case have some arrangement for exhibiting light from their summits or round their shafts. With the Jains this appears to have been rarely the case. Their pillars are the lineal descendants of those of the Buddhists, which bore either emblems or statues—generally the former—or figures of animals; with the Jains and Vaishnavas they, as generally, bore figures. In the south, however, the Jains have two styles of pillars—the Brahmadeva Stambhas, bearing figures of the god Brahma, and the Manastambhas which are taller and bear a small pavilion on the capital'.

I. CHANDRA GIRI

INSCRIPTIONS.—The most ancient inscriptions, three of which are in Sanskrit, and the others in Haḷe Kaṇṇaḍa are scattered all over the surface of the rock on this hill, but chiefly in a rough semicircle at various distances from the south-west to the north-east of Chandragupta Basti facing which they must be read. By far the most famous among them is what is called the Badrabahu's inscription discovered by Mr. Rice which will be discussed later on.

From the contents of the others it is evident that with two or three exceptions they mark the spots where Jaina devotees procured death by fasting in performance of a vow for that purpose called by the name of Sallekhana.

The derivation of the term Sallekhana, evidently sat-lekhana or sam-lekhana, is difficult to account for, but it is said to be equivalent to samyak-lekhana. It is not found in the dictionaries and is a term peculiar to the Jains. It seems necessary here to take for *lekhana* its meaning of scarifying, or scraping off, and to understand its application as referring to divesting the body of all its trammels, or getting rid of it as the serpent of its slough, 'shuffling off this mortal coil'.

The following description of it is given in the *Ratna Karandaka*, a work by Ayita-varmma :—

'When overtaken by portentous calamity, by famine, by old age, or by disease for which there is no cure, to obtain liberation from the body for the sake of merit the Aryas call Sallekhana. He who is perfect in knowledge possesses the fruit of all penance, which is the source of power, therefore should one seek for death by the performance of some meritorious vow, so far as his means will permit. Having purified his mind by renunciation of friendship, hatred, ties, and acquisitions; having forgiven his relations and dependants and with kind words sought forgiveness from them; viewing with a strong mind impartially (or with indifference) all that he does, causes to be done or desires; should a man enter upon the performance of the great vow, not to be completed save by his death.'

'He should by degrees diminish his food, and take only rice seasoned with milk. Then, giving up the milk, he should gradually reduce himself to only a handful of water. Then, abandoning even the handful of liquid, he should, according to his strength, remain entirely fasting; and thus, with his mind intent upon the five kinds of reverence, should by every effort quit his body. Desire of life or of death, remembrance of fear or friendship, action, these five are transgressions of Sallekhana—thus say the five Jinendras.'

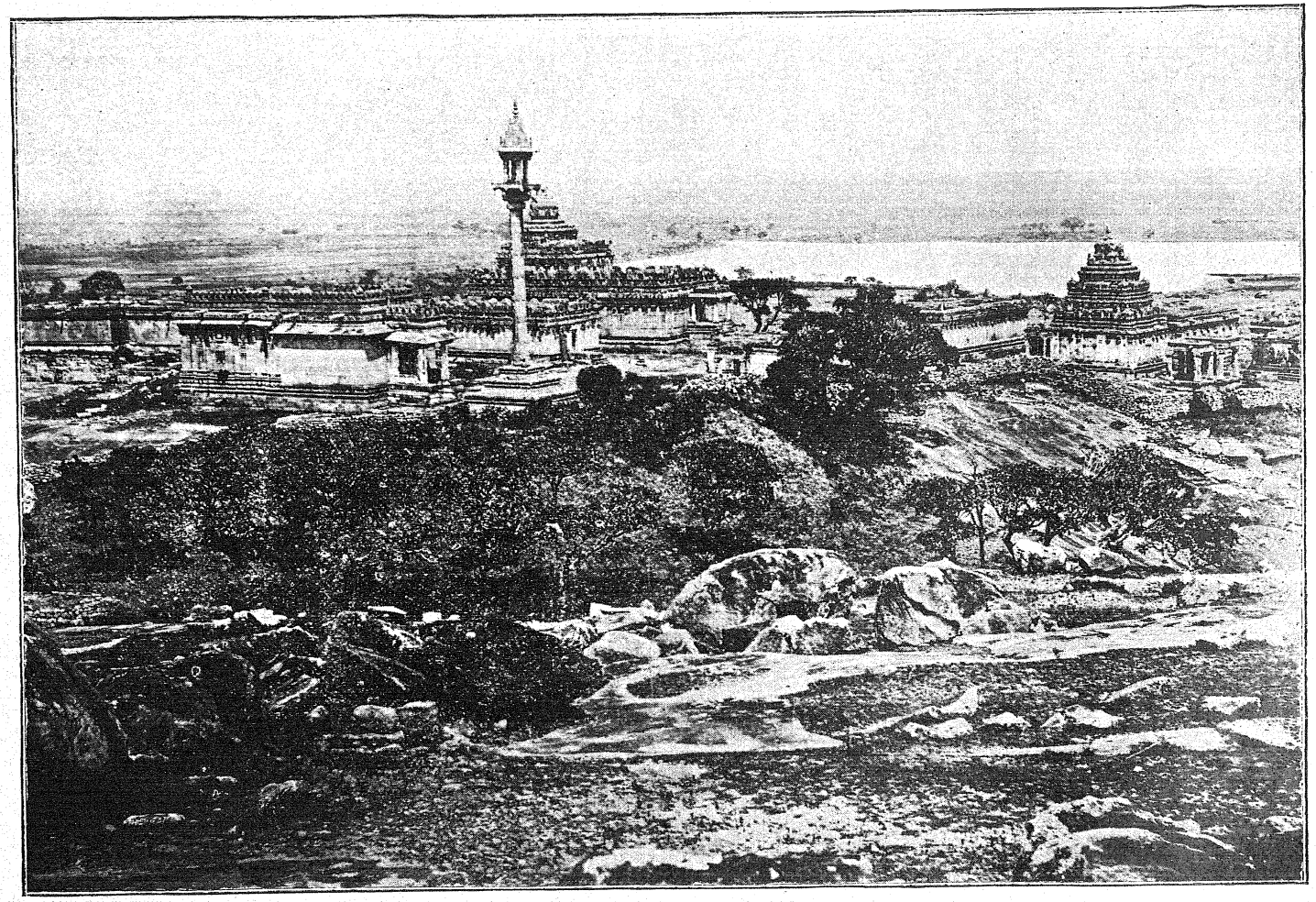
The instances recorded in the later inscriptions of the performance of the vow of Sallekhana show that it was in vogue at all periods, even down to 1809. The question may well be asked whether it is still put into practice. On this point it is not easy to obtain information, but it seems to be the orthodox mode of quitting this life for Jainas and is admitted to be resorted to in the case of persons whose death seems near. Their end is hastened by withholding nourishment, just as in other sects persons borne to the banks of the Ganges to die are sometimes suffocated with the holy soil. In the case of persons too weak to perform the requirements of the vow, the proper ritual is recited in their hearing, and this is done, it is said, even for domestic cattle and other animals at the time of their decease.

TEMPLES.—All the temples on this hill except one are in a walled area measuring in its greatest length about 800 feet by about 300 where it is widest. They are with reference to the accompanying map:—

1. Kuge Brahma Deva Kambha.
2. Chandragupta Basti.
3. Kattale Basti.
4. Parśvanathasami Basti.
5. Sasana Basti.
6. Chamundaraya Basti.
7. Erukade Basti.
8. Savatigandhavarana Basti.
9. Terina Basti.
10. Santiśvaraśvami Basti.
11. Santinathaśvami Basti.
12. Suparśvanathaśvami Basti.
13. Chandraprabhaśvami Basti.
14. Magiganna Basti.
15. Badrabahu's Cave.
16. Brahmadeva Temple.
17. Smaller Image.

1. *Kuge Bahma Deva Kambha.*—This pillar at the entrance of the temple area has a small seated figure of Brahma on the top facing east. The name Kuge (calling) was probably given to it from the practice of exhibiting a light on the top of it for the purpose of calling the Jains to their devotions. The inscriptions on three sides are in Sanskrit and one in Haḷe Kaṇṇaḍa. They are filled with the praises of a Ganga king who appears to have been Marasimha II Nolambakulántaka. The inscriptions date from Śaka 895 (A. D. 973). The king is described as having destroyed the power of the Nolambas, as having been favoured by the king of the Vanasasi country, no doubt a Kadamba, and as having been reverenced on account of his valour by Chera, Chola, Pandya and Pallava. He was a most devout Jain and supported many works of merit in Belgoḷa.

2. *Chandragupta Basti.*—The most sacred spot in this enclosure is the Chandragupta Basti. It is situated almost exactly in the centre of the temple area and at its highest point. The temple is a very small one, only nineteen feet by fifteen feet outside measurement, and faces south. It consists of three cells, containing—the middle one an image of Parsvanatha, the one on the west side Padmavati, and the one on the east side Kushmandini. A verandah about four feet runs along the front, with the figure of a Kshetrapala at each end. The outer walls are about eight feet high, pilastered with a frieze of the heads and trunks of mythical lions running round the top. Above are two small pinnacles of Dravidian style, one over each of the side cells. Such was probably the whole of the temple as originally built. But an ornamental doorway was subsequently placed in front with a perforated stone screen on both sides of it, thus closing up the former open verandah. The screen each half of which is five feet ten and a half inches by five feet five and a half inches is pierced with square or rectangular openings in regular rows and on the spaces between are minutely sculptured scenes from the lives of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta, forty-five on each side, or ninety altogether. This work, Mr. Rice concludes, is of later date than the temple



CHANDRA GIRI

and made for its protection, as on examining the irregularity in the alternate rows of the eastern portion it is evident that the three stones of which it is composed have at some time, probably in rebuilding, been misplaced. For by putting the present topmost stone at the bottom, the rows will correspond regularly with those of the western half.

The temple now opens into the pillared hall which also forms the entrance to the Kattale Basti (the Temple of darkness). Owing to various erections, and the hall above mentioned being shut in with a stone wall, the entrance to the Chandragupta Basti is in pitch darkness and it is doubtful if the screen has ever been seen by a European before Mr. Rice.

By a piece of good luck I was able not only to inspect the screen but also to explore the three cells wishing all the time that I could bring myself to believe that I was standing on the very spot where the great Chandragupta had done penance and died.

3. *Kattale Basti.*—This temple was built about A. D. 1116 by Ganga Raja, Minister to Vishnu Vardhana, for his mother Padikavve. As now seen it is quite plain externally, but rather long. As it has no other opening than the single door in front, and all access of light even to this is prevented by a large enclosed entrance hall, it is easy to account for the name of Kattale Basti or Temple of darkness by which the structure is called. The temple is situated to the west of Chandragputa Basti, but placed more to the south, so that it begins in a line with where the other ends. There seems no doubt that it had a small tower something like that of the Chamundaraya Basti, but no tower now exists. At some subsequent period a large-pillared hall was built in the square space in front of this basti and the Chandra Gupta Basti, in such a way that both bastis opened into it, the latter on the north and the former on the west. A flight of stone steps at the north-east angle led up to the top of the hall, and here, it is said, the ladies of rank used to assemble to witness the great festivals. This hall seems to have given way and to have been rebuilt in recent times, in a rough fashion, the partially ornamental pillars of the former structure, some fragments of which are lying about the site, being replaced by plain uncut stones, and a partition wall built in front to shut in the whole.

4. *Parśvanatha Basti.*—This is one of the largest temples on the hill. It is situated south of the Kattale Basti against which it is built. There is nothing to show when or by whom it was erected. A lofty and elegant Manastambha stands in front of it and an inscription within the entrance is dated A. D. 1128.

5. *Sasana Basti.*—The Sasana Basti is another of Ganga Raja's votive buildings. So called from the Sasana or inscription being set up conspicuously at its entrance, it is a plain building situated immediately behind Chandra Gupta Basti with a narrow passage between and faces east. It was erected probably in the same year as the Kattale Basti, viz. A. D. 1116.

6. *Chamundaraya Basti.*—This temple built originally in memory of Chamunda Raya's death is the handsomest in the place both in style, dimensions and decorative features. Chamunda Raya had the colossal statue on the large hill made and some account will be given of him when we come to the description of that statue. This temple stands at the extreme north of the temple area towards the middle of the space and faces east. Originally erected in A. D. 995 it does not, in its present form, belong to that date as an inscription shows that the building, as it stands now, was erected by Echana, the son of Ganga Raja, which would be about 140 years later. One inscription states that Echana had another name Boppa, but it is not very clear whether both names designate one individual or whether Echana and Boppa were first cousins.

This basti is, as already mentioned, the handsomest on the hill, being fully completed with upper story and tower, and with numerous statues and sculptured ornaments round the cornice of the outer wall. Externally it is of rectangular form, eighty-five feet long by thirty-seven feet broad. The entire space between the outer wall and the garbha-griham at the back, or about twelve and a half feet, seems to be filled up solid with earth and stones as a foundation or basement for the upper story and tower.

As this is one of the finest specimens of the Jaina temples at Śravana Belgoḷa, and from the illustration given in his work the one which chiefly influenced the opinion of Fergusson regarding them, the following extract from him may be quoted here: 'On a shoulder of the hill called Chandragiri stand the bastis, fifteen in number. As might be expected from their situation, they are all of the Dravidian style of architecture, and are consequently built in gradually receding stories, each of which is ornamented with small simulated cells. No instance occurs among them of the curvilinear sikra or spire which is universal with the northern Jains, except in the instance of Ellora . . . . Their external appearance is more ornamental than that of the generality of northern Jaina temples. The outer wall of those in the north is almost always quite plain. The southern ones are as generally ornamented with pilasters and crowned with a row of ornamental cells. Inside is a court, probably square, and surrounded by cloisters, at the back of which rises the Vimana over the cell, which contains the principal image of the Tirthankara surmounted by a small dome.

It may be a vain speculation, but it seems impossible not to be struck with the resemblance to the temples of southern Babylonia. The same division into stories, with their cells; the backward position of the temple itself; the panelled or pilastered basement, are all points of resemblance, it seems difficult to regard as purely accidental. The distance of time would seem to bar such an idea, but the combinations of men with bulls and lions, and the many similarities between the Pantheons of Babylonia and India, render the fact of the architecture of the one country influencing that of the

other far from being impossible, though by some it may be considered improbable. I have long tried to shake off the idea as an untenable hypothesis, but every time I return to the study of the subject, its likelihood recurs with increasing strength.'

7. *Eradu Katte Basti* erected in A. D. 1116 by Lakshmi, Ganga Raja's wife. It is situated to the north-east of Chandra Gupta Basti, some distance away both from that and the Sasana Basti built by her husband, and faces to the north. It is also a plain building, and called Eradu Katte Basti from having a raised terrace on each side of the entrance.

8. *Savati Gandhavarana Basti.*—This is another temple erected in A. D. 1123 by Śantāla Devi. Near by is an inscription containing an account of the death at Sivaganga of Śantāla Devi, in Śaka 1053, the year Śóbhakṛit (A. D. 1151), and of her mother Māchikabbe performing sallekhana in consequence and dying at Belgoḷa. The conflict between her own position as a Jaina and as the queen of a Vaishnava is reconciled by her statement that Jainatha was her favourite and Vishnu her God. Her father was a Saiva and seems to have resided at Sivaganga the conical hill about thirty miles north-east of Bangalore. Her death must have occurred suddenly when she was on a visit to her father. She bore no son to Vishnu Vardhana, who married after her death, the second wife being Lakuma Devi, the mother of the next king Narasimha.

9. *Térina Basti.*—So called on account of its having a tower which is supposed to resemble a temple car. It is near the north-east entrance to the temple area and faces north, and seems to be the oldest basti after Chandra Gupta Basti. This is also known under the name of Bahubali or Gommaṭeśvara Basti. Put up against it are two Viragal or memorial stones; one was erected by Bayiga a scion of the Kakka line of the Rashtrakūṭas in memory of his wife's sister. The other one is in memory of Bayiga himself.

10. *Santiśvara Basti.*—This temple was erected at about the same time as the Savati Gandhavarana Basti, by Śantāla Devi, queen to Vishnu Vardhana. She also, under the permission of Vishnu Vardhana, endowed it with various lands. She set up in it a turimana of Santi Jaina. This Tirtankara being very likely selected, because his name was similar to her own.

Nos. 11, 12, 14 do not call for any special remark. They are small temples erected no one knows when or by whom. They are consecrated to the 16th, 7th, and 19th Tirtankaras respectively, each one having the image of its special saint set up for worship.

13. *Chandraprabhaśawmi Basti.*—In his Annual Report for 1910-11 Mr. R. Narasimhachar, officer in charge of Archæological Researches in Mysore, page 37, discusses an inscription recently discovered at a distance of only five feet from the above temple. Engraved on the rock to the north-west of the temple this inscription gives the important information that a *Basadi* or Temple was built by Śivamāra and Mr. Narasimhachar concludes

that the temple was erected by Śivamāra II the Ganga king who reigned between A. D. 780 and 814. If this be true this temple would be one of the oldest on the hill. Mr. Narasimhachar assigns, A. D. 800 as the probable date of the inscription.

15. *Badrabahu's Cave.*—This is the traditional spot where lived Badrabahu, the supposed leader of the emigration and teacher of Chandragupta. There is nothing much remarkable about it, it being more or less like any other natural cave. Two huge foot prints are pointed out as the foot prints of Badrabahu when he ascended into heaven and an inscription, dated A. D. 1090 records the fact that one Yinachandra had come to venerate the marks of the master.

A portico of recent erection and without any architectural claim rather disfigures the entrance to the cave.

The cave is about 300 feet out of the temple area and to the south.

16. *Brahmadeva Temple.*—This temple is also out of the temple area, 100 feet, due north. The only thing remarkable about it is that it seems dedicated to Brahma, one of the very few instances in India.

17. *Smaller Image.*—There is an abandoned image, about ten feet high, on this hill, facing west, which may have been carved to serve as a model and to test the stability of such a figure when erected. For it is complete only to the thighs, from which point it rises from the face of the rock, and may have been cut out of a large upright boulder on the spot where it tands. According to an inscription it was Aritto Nemi, who made it siddam or in other words, demonstrated its feasibility as the inscription may be held to imply. The date of this inscription, therefore, would be about A. D. 980 and Aritto Nemi may have been the sculptor of the great colossus on the other hill.

II. THE TOWN

The population of the town is about 1,800, and it is the chief seat of the Jain sect being the residence of the principal Guru. A considerable trade is carried on in brass utensils.

The chief objects of interest are:—

1. The Guru's Maṭha.
2. Bandhara Basti.
3. Mangayi Basti.
4. Nagara-Jinalaya.
5. Akkana Basti.

1. *The Guru's Maṭha.*—The building seems to be a very extensive one, well built and adorned inside with paintings relating to Jain history and Jain life. The Guru received us most courteously and, as there is no traveller's bungalow at Belgoḷa, allowed us to use a hall which has lately been built for the exclusive convenience of Jain pilgrims.

The Maṭha was an acknowledged seat of learning in early times. An inscription records the fact that a priest from there named Akalanka Bhaṭṭa was in A. D. 788 summoned to the court of Hemasitala at Kanchi where having confuted the Buddhists in public disputation, he was instrumental in gaining their expulsion from the south of India to Ceylon.

2. *Bandhara Basti* built by Huḷḷa, the treasurer and chief minister of the Hoysala king Narasimha is the largest building at Belgoḷa. Huḷḷa was the third of the great builders at Belgoḷa. He built several other Jain temples in other places. He got Narasimha to make grants to the temple of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, and to the Terina and the Parśvanaṭha Bastis. He is styled a new Ganga Raja, that is, as a minister and as promoting Jaina works of merit.

3. *Mangayi Basti* built about 1396 by Mangayi, a woman of Belgoḷa, lay-disciple of Abhinana Charukirtti, panditta, a title borne by the Jain Gurus at Śravana Belgoḷa. In the inscription this basti is called Trilhuvana-chudaman Chaityala.

4. *Nagara-Jinalaya.*—There is no inscription to show when or by whom this temple was built but one dated 1280 records grants made to the temple by the citizens of Belgoḷa; one of 1283 by citizens who were lay-disciples of the royal Guru of the Hoysala King who at this time was Narasimha III, the last one of 1288 by the inhabitants of Jaina Kapura for repairs.

5. *Akkana Basti.*—This basti was erected by Achola Devi, the wife of Chandramauli, minister to Vera Bellala. Chandramauli was a Sivait but his wife was descended from a Jaina family of Masuvadi Naḍ.

The existence of those bastis in the town, as well as those erected on Chandra Giri by the minister and the queen of Vishnu Vardhana, would seem to point to the fact that, after his conversion, Vishnu Vardhana kept some feeling of veneration towards his old creed, and that his successors, if they were Vaishnavas, still allowed their ministers and subjects to keep the Jaina faith. No doubt there was a certain amount of friction between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas and at times the Jains had to suffer a certain amount of persecution. The friction seems to have become more acute when the rajas of Vijiyanagar had annexed the Hoysala dominions. This state of affairs did not suit the policy of the conquerors, and they did their utmost to reconcile the two sects.

In an inscription, dated 1368 there is a record of a compact which was personally made by Vira Bukka Raya of Vijiyanagar between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas in order to put down the persecution to which the latter were being subjected by the former. It is in the Kannada language, in prose, and contains a variety of interesting details. The settlement made by Bukka Raya, who had summoned all the chief representatives of the various Vaishnava sects for the occasion, was that the Jainas were to be at liberty to carry their customary symbols and play the five big drums in their

religious processions in the same way as the Vaishnavas, that in this respect no difference could be allowed, and that the one would be protected equally with the other.

This agreement was made in writing, and ratified by his taking the hand of the Jainas, and placing it in the hand of the Vaishnavas, the decree being ordered to be engraved on stone and set up in all the bastis in the kingdom. Moreover the Jainas agreed to contribute a certain sum from each house, which the Vaishnava tatas of Tirumale (the sacred hill of Tripate) were to apply in providing a body-guard of twenty men for the protection of the God of Belugula (the colossal image of Gommateśavara) and in repairing the ruined Jaina buildings.

The Jainas are throughout called the Bhavya-Jaina or blessed people, while the Śri-Vaishnavas are called the Bhaktas or the faithful.

III. INDRA GIRI OR VINDHYA GIRI

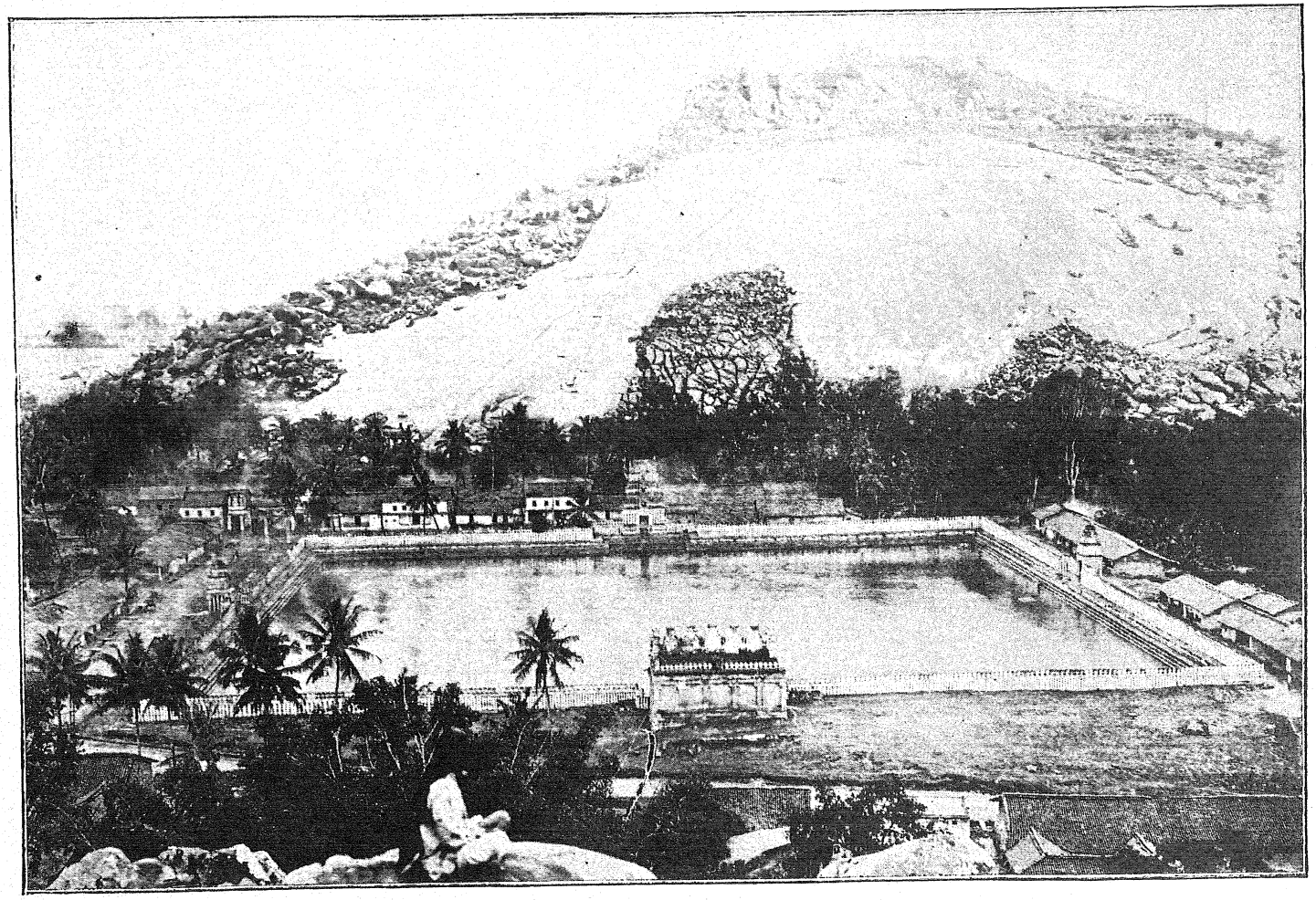
The principal objects of interest on this hill are :—

1. Gommateśvara.
2. The twenty-four Tirtankaras.
3. Tyagada Brahmadeva Kambha.
4. Yakshi Deva.
5. Chauvisatirtankara Basti.
6. Wodegal or Trikuta Basti.
7. Siddala Basti.
8. Channana Basti.

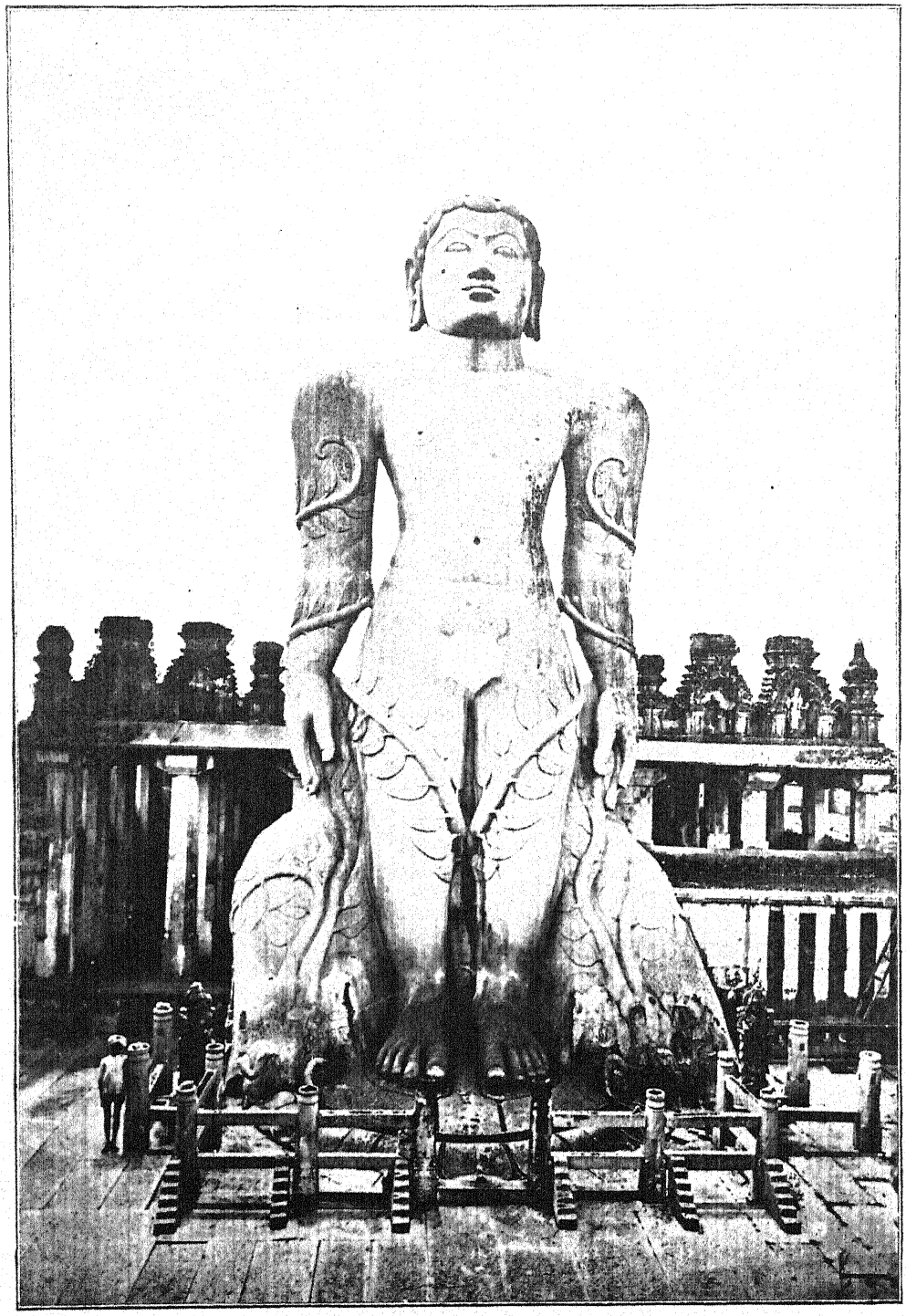
1. *Gommateśvara.*—Five hundred steps cut in the granite rock lead up to the summit of Indra Giri, upon which stands one of the structures built by the Southern Jains called bettas, consisting of an open court surrounded by a battlemented corridor containing cells, each with an image of some sage or saint. This corridor is again surrounded at some distance by a heavy wall, a good part of which is picturesquely formed by boulders in their natural position.

In the centre of the court stands a colossal statue called Gommateśvara. It is probable that the Gommata was cut out of a boulder which rested on the spot, as it would have been a work of great difficulty to transport a granite mass of this size up the oval hillside. This is the largest of three similar statues in India; the other two are in the South Kanara district at Karkala and Yenur. They are identical in the way in which they are represented, but differ considerably in the features of the face. The Belgola statue is not only the most ancient in date and considerably the highest of the three but from its striking position on the top of a very steep hill and the consequently greater difficulty involved in its execution is by far the most interesting.

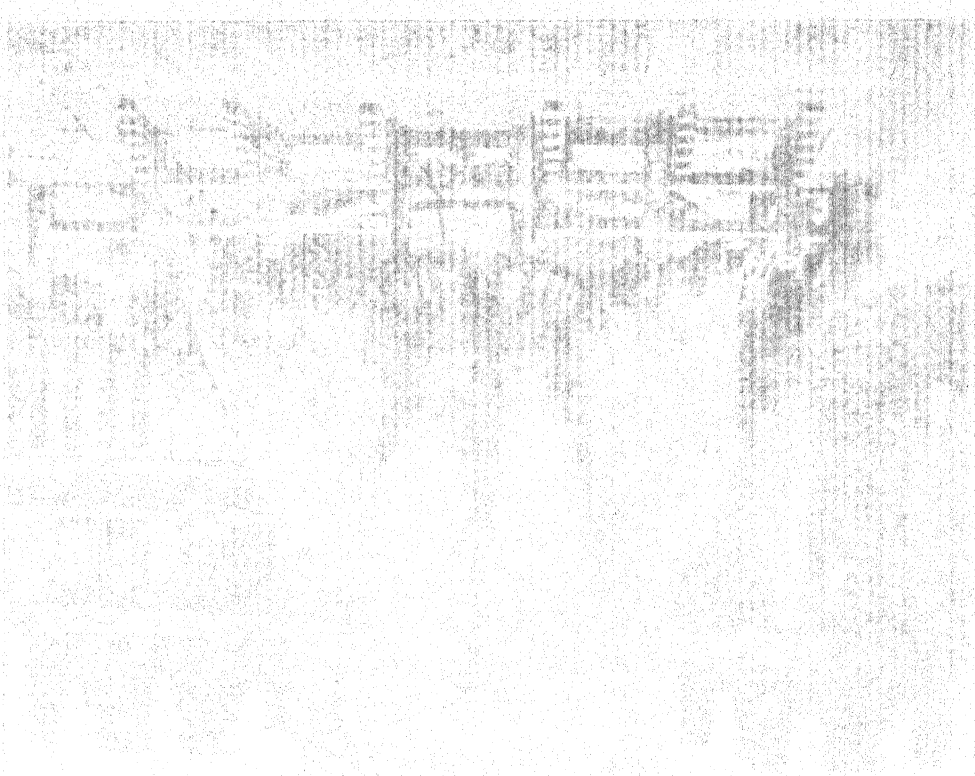
At Śravana-gutta, about four miles north-west of the Yelwal (Ilivala) Residency near Mysore, is an abandoned Jaina statue of Gommata, about twenty feet high, on the top of a small rocky eminence. The image faces east and



VINDHYA GIRI



GOMMATESVARA



has a half smile like that of the Yenur image. The creeper as at Śravana Belgoḷa twines round the thighs and arms while a fully-formed cobra, with hood expanded, forms a support for each hand. The buildings erected over and in front of it are much more modern. The sloping rock in front, by which the ascent to the image was made, was some years ago split into a great chasm by lightning. But the top can be reached by climbing up a narrow cleft on the north side, with the aid of the roots of the trees growing out of the rock. There are no inscriptions anywhere. A mile to the south there is said to have been a town called Gommatapura of which no traces remain.

There is also a Jaina image, nine feet high, on the summit of a hill called Śravanappa-gutta, of about 200 feet in elevation, on the borders of the Channapatna and Malvalli taluks, near Tippur in the latter. But the image, which faces east, is only in half-relief carved on a large slab rounded at the top. It is quite deserted and there is no inscription or mark to indicate whom it represents or who made it. But at Kuligere in Malvalli taluk there is an inscription, dated Śaka 838 (A.D. 916), of the time of the Ganga king Niti-marga, which shows that Tippur was as far back as that, a sacred place of the Jains and there are numerous Jain remains at the place, as well as a fine inscription of the time of the Hoysala king Vishnu Vardhana.

The image at Śravana Belgoḷa is nude and stands erect, facing the north or in the direction of the smaller hill. The figure has no support above the thighs. Up to that point it is represented as surrounded by ant-hills, from which emerge serpents: a climbing plant twines itself round both legs and both arms, terminating at the upper part of the arm in a clustre of fruit or berries. The pedestal on which the feet stand is carved to represent an open lotus. The general aspect and proportions of the figure will be seen from the illustrations accompanying this article, but owing to the great height of the image and the want of any point sufficiently elevated from which to take a picture of it, most of the representations fail to give a good idea of the features of the face, which are the most perfect part artistically and the most interesting. The hair is in spiral ringlets flat to the head, as usual in Jaian images, and the lobe of the ears lengthened down with a large rectangular hole.

The following are the dimensions which seem the most trustworthy:—

	FT.	IN.		FT.	IN.
Total height to the bottom of the ear	50	0	Length of the great toe	2	9
From the bottom of the ear to the crown of the head (not measured) about ...	6	6	Half girth at the instep	6	4
Length of the foot ...	9	0	Half girth of the thigh	10	0
Breadth across the front of the foot	4	6	From the hip to the ear	24	6
			From the coccyx to the ear	20	0
			Breadth across the pelvis ...	13	0
			Breadth across at the waist ...	10	0
			From the waist and elbow to the ear	17	0

	FT.	IN.		FT.	IN.
From the armpit to the ear ...	7	0	Length of the forefinger ...	3	6
Breadth across the shoulders	26	0	Length of the middle finger	5	3
From the base of the neck to			Length of the third finger ...	4	7
the ear	2	6	Length of the fourth finger ...	2	8

The total height may thus be stated at 57 feet though higher estimates have been given: 60 feet 3 inches by the Duke of Wellington and 70 feet 3 inches by Buchanan.

Mr. J. D. Legge, a retired officer of the D.P.W., informs me that being present when the statue was surrounded with scaffolding he availed himself of the opportunity to have it measured and he found the exact height to be 71 feet.

Of the two other colossal images of Gommateśvara previously referred to as being in the South Kanara district, that at Karkala was erected in A.D. 1431 and is stated to be 41 feet 5 inches in height: the other one at Yenur was erected in A.D. 1603 and is about 37 feet high.

Erected by Chamunda Raya.—Inscriptions engraved on the rock representing an ant-hill which supports the lower part of the statue and immediately below his right and left hand contain the announcement in Nagari, Purvada Hale Kannada, Grantha and Tamil characters that Chavunda or Chamunda Raya caused the image to be made about A.D. 983. This Chamunda Raya was the minister of the Ganga king Raja Malla whose reign ended in A.D. 984. He is with Ganga Raya, minister of Vishnu Vardhana and Hulla Raya, minister of king Narsimha Deva one of the chief promoters of the Jaina faith and one of the three who made Śravana-Belgoḷa what it is. He also composed a work called Chamunda Raya Purana containing an epitome of the history of the twenty-four Tirthankaras.

The Cloisters.—Ganga Raja had the cloisters around erected. He was, as already been said, minister to Vishnu Vardhana and died in A. D. 1133. The erection of this enclosing parapet wall and other buildings around has certainly detracted from the imposing and picturesque effect the gigantic image must previously have presented when standing alone in its naked sublimity on the summit of the hill. But probably the walls were now required for its protection from injury. For when it was erected the Jainas were in the ascendant, and Jainism was the state religion. But, with the conversion to the Vaishnava faith of the Hoysala king Bitti Deva (subsequently called Vishnu Vardhana), in probably this very year, by the reformer Ramanujachari, great animosity was excited against the Jainas, albeit they were too powerful to be altogether set aside. There are even stories of Ramanujachari's having mutilated the image, so as to ruin it as an object of worship. No trace remains of such an injury, unless it be that the forefinger of the left-hand,

which is shorter than it should be, had a piece struck off below the first joint and was afterwards sculptured into a perfect finger again. This particular form of revenge would easily have suggested itself if it be true, as one tradition states, that the change of the king's religion was in some degree brought about by the refusal of his Jaina Guru to take food with him, because the king was mutilated, having lost one of his fingers.

Inscriptions recount how Ganga Raja repaired all the ruined bastis through Gangavadi, how he drove the Tamil people out of Gangavadi. He is described as 'causing Vishnu Vardhana "to stand erect" and as being "the full vessel for his coronation and anointing". He was by the important conquest of Talkad, the main instrument in making Vishnu Vardhana independent by freeing him from Chola domination on the south, so that he was later on able to throw off his allegiance to the Chalukyas in the north.

Who is Gommata?—The Jains to whom everywhere the images of their Tirthankaras are the only objects of worship can give no explanation of the worship of Gaumata or Gommata, who is not one of them, further than he is worshipped out of respect for the first Tirthankara as being his son. He is not known to the Jains in the north. The only occurrence of such a name is in connexion with the ancient history of Persia. In the celebrated cuneiform inscription of Darius Hystaspes at Behistan, it will be seen that the Gomates (in the original Persian Gaumata) is given as the name of the Pseudo-Bardes or Pseudo-Smerdis, the Magian, who usurped the throne of Cambyses by personating his brother. The deception was at length discovered and Gomates was slain by Darius. A general slaughter of the Magi followed, and the day was observed ever after as a great festival, called the Mago-phonia, or the slaughter of the Magi. I merely point out the seeming coincidence with the singular name Gaumata, and there are, it appears, Jaina traditions connecting the last but one Tirthankara, Parśvanatha, with Persia.

Perhaps this Gaumata is after all this very Tirthankara in whose honour as we have seen a temple stands on the Vindhya Hill. According to some inscriptions, Gaumata is identified with Bahubali, the half brother of Bharata. There was a struggle for empire between the two which results in Bahubali resigning his claims and retiring from the world in order to do penance. The Térina Basti on the smaller hill is called the Bahubali Basti or Gomateśwarasawmi Basti, thus identifying the two. All accounts agree that it was a desire to reproduce a certain image at Podanapura, of which he had heard, that led Chamunda Raya to have this colossus made. We also learn that the image at Podanapura was known as Kukkutesvara from a neighbouring forest infested with cocks and serpents. The Kukkutesvara is the emblem of Padmavati and is represented in sculpture, as at Belgola, as a cock or fowl with a serpent's head and neck. Podanapura seems to have been a place near Gaya in Bihar.

2. *The twenty-four Tirthankaras* seem to have been set up by Hulla. Each one has his own special shrine dedicated to him and adorned with his statue. Here is a list of the twenty-four Tirthankaras—

1. Adi-natha or Rishabha.
2. Ajita-natha.
3. Sambhava.
4. Abhinandana.
5. Sumati-natha.
6. Padmaprabha.
7. Suparsva-natha.
8. Chandraprabha.
9. Pushpadanta.
10. Sitala-natha.
11. Sreyamsa-natha.
12. Vasapujya.
13. Vimala-natha.
14. Ananta-natha.
15. Dharma-natha.
16. Santi-natha.
17. Kunthu-natha.
18. Ara-natha.
19. Malli-natha.
20. Munisuvrata.
21. Nami-natha.
22. Nemi-natha.
23. Parsva-natha.
24. Mahavira, or Vardhamana.

3. *The Tyagadu Brahma Deva Pillar.*—This pillar is most delicately chiselled. It has an inscription which first contained an account of himself by Chamunda Raya but unfortunately three sides of the inscription have been effaced. The pillar itself, which is supported from above in such a way that a handkerchief can be passed under it, is a beautiful work of art. The present inscription is on the south base and occupies only two lines and a half. But the chief named Kanna, whoever he was, that had it engraved, is entitled to execration, for it is evident that, in order to inscribe his brief notice, he had the inscription which filled three sides of the base defaced, thus, to judge from what remains, depriving the world of what was probably most interesting information regarding the erection of the colossal image. The Yaksha set up by him, too, seems to have been a paltry figure, of no account, erected on the top of the highly ornamental and classically sculptured pillar. The figure was enclosed in a little plain building with four brick walls, now in ruins. The Tyagada Kambha (in Kaṇṇada Chhagada Kambha) was, as its name indicated, the place where distribution was made of the sacred gifts. A Yaksha is a demi-god attendant on Kubera, the god of wealth.

4. *Yakshi Deva.*—This is a female figure holding a Gulla Kayi which stands before the entrance to the inner enclosure round the colossal image. The figure is known as Kushmandini, and is said to represent the faithful woman in whose guise the goddess Padmavati appeared at the consecration of the great statue and the acceptance of whose simple offering rebuked the pride, with which Chamunda Raya was elated at the accomplishment of his vast undertaking, a feeling which had prevented his anointing from being effectual. The figure is described in the inscription as merely a Yakshi devati, a class of beings who seem to be celestial attendants on deified Jaina saints. Their images are placed at or near the door, as in the present case and

in that of the Chandra Gupta Basti. The figure now under notice was made by order of a merchant, Bamma Setti, a lay disciple of Balachandra, and is four feet nine and a half inches high without the pedestal. Probably it was intended to represent a woman exactly life size.

Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8 are ordinary bastis. The date of their erection is unknown and there is nothing to show by whom they were set up.

IV. BADRABAHU'S INSCRIPTION

This is undoubtedly the oldest inscription at Belgoḷa, and, as on it is founded the legend of Chandragupta, the famous Mauryan emperor, having after his abdication come to Southern India as a Jain monk and died at Śravana Belgoḷa, it has occurred to me that the readers of this paper would perhaps like to know what are the arguments for and against that theory.

The inscription is south of the Parśvanatha Basti and to be able to read it one has to face the Chandragupta Basti. It is now enclosed with railings to prevent further obliteration of the characters which are about one foot long.

As already mentioned, Mr. L. Rice, C.I.E., Director of Archæological Research in Mysore, was the first to decipher the inscription and this coupled with the fact of his keen enthusiasm for Mysore and its archæological remains is enough to account for his ardent championship of its authenticity.

Here is the text of the inscription in Mr. L. Rice's translation :—

'Be it well.

'Success through the adorable Vardhamana, the fortunate establisher of the science of merit; an embodiment of the nectar of the peace of acquired a siddhi (the fruit of penance). Support of both the upper and lower worlds, being himself, all things movable and immovable; by his own power of discerning both spirit and mind, pervading all.

Having obtained inconceivable greatness and supreme honour throughout the world; having acquired the great arhantya in the group of worthies who have become *Tirthankaras*.

Moreover, whose indisputable doctrine, overcoming those of the other disputing sects, is supreme in Sri Visala, and a security to the world.'

After the great sun Mahavira had gone down,—an abode of glorious qualities which illuminated all worlds; a great orb of a thousand brilliant rays which, dispersing the darkness, caused to unfold the lotus of the blessed people multiplying in the lake of the supreme Jaina faith,—(there arose) the adorable great Rishi Gautamaganadhara, his personal disciple Loharya, Jambu, Vishnu-deva, Aparajita, Govarddhana, Bhadrabahu, Visakha, Kshatrikarya, Jayanama, Siddhartha, Dhritishena, Bhuddhila, and other gurus.

Bhadrabahu-svamin, of the illustrious line of this regular order of great men, who by virtue of his severe penance had acquired the essence of knowledge, having, by his power of discovering the past, present and future,

foretold in Ujjayini a period of twelve years of dire calamity (or famine), the whole of the sangha, leaving the northern regions, took their way to the south. And the rishi company arrived at a country counting many hundreds of villages, completely filled with the increase of people, money, gold, grain, cows, buffaloes and goats.

Whereupon, at a mountain with lofty peaks, whose name was Katavapra, —an ornament to the earth; the ground around which was variegated with the brilliant hues of the clusters of gay flowers fallen from the beautiful trees; the rocks of which were dark as the great rain-clouds filled with water; abounding with wild boars, panthers, tigers, bears, hyenas, serpents and deer; filled with caves, caverns, large ravines and forests,—the achari, with Prabhachandra also perceiving that but little time remained for him to live, and fearing on account of the road (or journey), announced his desire to do the penance before death, and having dismissed the entire sangha, he, with one single disciple, worshipping on cold stones covered with grass, quitted his body and in this manner attained to the state (or, gained the adoration) of the seven hundred rishis.

May it prosper, the Jina s'asana.'

Mr. Rice's arguments.—(1) There is no doubt that the local traditions and many of the inscriptions state that Badrabahu, the last of the Śruta Kevalis (that is, one of the immediate successors of the personal disciples of the founder of Jainism, Vardhamana or Mahavira), came to Belgoḷa and died there as well as his disciple Chandragupta, who on becoming a monk, changed his name to Prabhachandra.

(2) Two inscriptions of the ninth century found at Gautama Kshatra on the river Cauvery at Seringapatam show the publicity of the fact outside Śravana Belgoḷa.

(3) At Śravana Belgoḷa itself there is a hill called Chandragupta Giri and a cave which goes by the name of Badrabahu.

(4) A compendium of Jaina history called Rajavalikathe, which seems to have impressed Mr. Rice greatly, relates the story of Badrabahu and Chandragupta.

(5) Last but not least, the Badrabahu's inscription at Belgoḷa bears testimony to this fact.

Dr. J. F. Fleet's answer.—Dr. J. F. Fleet has made a special study of the question in the *Indian Antiquary* and in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, and his opinion is that there is no solid foundation for the legend. In the latter publication, 1909, p. 23, note 3, he gives his opinion about this argument drawn from the Rajavalikatte: 'There is', he says, 'a story in Mysore, which has been accepted quite seriously, that Chandragupta abdicated, became a Jain monk, went to Southern India with the Sruta-Kevalin Bhadrabahu, and died at Śravana Belgoḷa. The story, however, is only presented in a compendium of Jain history called Rajavalikatte, which was composed

in the last century. And, when we examine it, we find that it really indicates, not Chandragupta, the grandfather of Asoka, but an otherwise unknown Chandragupta, son of Asoka's alleged son Kunala; that he abdicated in favour of an otherwise unknown son named Simhasena and that the Bhadrabahu who figures in it is not the Sruta-Kevalin of that name, but quite a different person, probably the Pontiff Bhadrabahu II. The story is on the face of it of quite modern invention. If there is anything early about it, it rests upon certain inscriptions which do assign a disciple named Chandragupta to Bhadrabahu II and upon a reminiscence of the abdication of Asoka, which must have become known in Mysore through the publication of the last edict there. From any point of view, it has not the slightest historical value as affecting the grandfather of Asoka.'

He is still more forcible in the *JRAS*, 1911, p. 816.

'Mr. Rice's belief in a connexion between the Mauryas and Mysore is based ultimately on a wrong reading of the plain unmistakable text of an inscription of the eighth century A. D. at Śravana Belgoḷa. The record is the synchronous epitaph of a Jain teacher named Prabhachandra, who died at Śravana Belgoḷa. That part of it which is concerned with his death begins: Aṭahāchāryyaḥ Prabhāchandrō nāmāvanitala-lalāma bhūtē; in which he is distinctly mentioned as "the Acharya by name Prabhachandra". Mr. Rice, however, would still suggest on the strength of legends strung together into a complete story in quite modern times, that we should find here the expression Prabhāchandrēṇ-āmavani, "the Acharya along with (ama) Prabhachandra"; that the Acharya is the Sruta-Kevalin Bhadrabahu I, and Prabhachandra is Chandragupta, the grandfather of Asoka, though the record contains no allusion of any kind to him; that the inscription commemorates the death of Bhadrabahu, and that we thus have evidence that Chandragupta went with Bhadrabahu to Śravana Belgoḷa, and ended his days in religious retirement there. This needs no further comment.'

I have not the necessary authority to decide the question at issue, but I must confess that Mr. Rice's arguments do not appear convincing and some of them are decidedly weak, and I am inclined to think that Dr. Fleet has disposed once and for all of the most telling arguments in favour of his theory.

With regard to local traditions there is no proof that they go much beyond the ninth century when Śravana Belgoḷa's hill began to be covered with the bastis we still admire.

Yet I admit that, for some reason unknown, the place must have been invested with some character of sanctity before, as some of the inscriptions recording the performance of Sallekhana by Jain devotees are certainly anterior to that time.

It is regarded as probable by some (vide *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xx, p. 350 and xxi, p. 159) that the Digambaras migrated to the south owing to

a severe famine in Hindustan somewhere about 50 B. C. perhaps under the leadership of a later Badrabahu. They must, in course of time, have found their way to Śravana Belgoḷa and once settled there it is not difficult to see by what process they identified their Badrabahu with the last of the Śruta Kevalis, and, as he and Chandragupta were contemporaries, they made the emperor abdicate and accompany the master as his disciple.

But the legend must have taken centuries to formulate itself and this explains why, except, the Badrabahu's inscription, there is no other which can be authentically dated before the beginning of the ninth century.

With regard to this very inscription Mr. Rice himself admits, though very reluctantly, that it cannot with any degree of probability belong to any period much anterior to A.D. 400. The interval is too long after Chandragupta's disappearance from history to admit of an historical link between Śravana Belgoḷa and the grandfather of Asoka. The sooner then the legend, which has already found its way into some manuals on the history of India, is eliminated, the better. Mysore is rich enough in historical associations and needs no legend unsupported by facts to make it one of the most interesting provinces of India.

A Note

An Interesting Deity's Travels

To add to the already exhaustive list of deities prevalent in this country, a new consular in the form of a female deity under the nomencalture of ' Plague Mariamma ' has recently made its appearance in this Province. There is something of a charm and mystery enshrouding the origin of this beneficent deity. From reports received and legends gleaned on the spot from its many ardent votaries, our representative was able to learn that this stone image represents the plague deity, and had been buried till now safely beneath mother earth in some part of the territories of that benevolent and much revered prince the late Nizam, after whose demise the deity was much affected and, wishing to tear herself away from a locality so full of sad reminiscences, she made known her intentions in dreams to some of her devotees to visit that much plague infected and scourged province of Mysore to ameliorate the sufferings of many bereaved families and to save the lives of the remaining millions. Consequently her peregrinations commenced from that spot and she has travelled in great pomp and grandeur as far as the village of Hebbal, in the vicinity of this City of Beans. The deity herself is made of the ordinary granite prevalent everywhere and the sculpturing seems to be the work of an amateur, but she wears round her neck a sanad written and granted by some unknown authority in which the intentions of the deity's visit to the Mysore Province and to the Capital *en route* to her final destination, the Chamundi Hill, is set out in clear and authoritative language with a command enjoining all human kind to render all assistance for the progress of the deity on her journey. The deity moves in a chariot of the kind we usually see the urchins in the Bazaar Streets dragging about and is accompanied by four lesser deities as attendants. The names or the functions of these four our representative was not able to ascertain.

This note has been taken from the Bangalore *Daily Post* Newspaper.—Ed.

As the ostensible object of the deity is to prevent the spread of plague and ultimately to eradicate this dire disease, the villagers have not been slow in welcoming her and honouring her in the most befitting style. The *modus operandi* by which the processions and the feastings in her honour are concerted and carried out are as follows :—Whenever the villagers hear of the approach of this great deity they at once assemble in conclave and decide that subscriptions in the shape of grain, vegetable, oil, ghee, condiments, etc., and offerings in the shape of money should be at once raised, and information to this effect is also given to all the neighbouring and distant villages, so that on the day appointed immense crowds with cartloads of good things go forward to meet the deity with music, etc., and her chariot is dragged in state to the nearest grove on the outskirts of the village, where she is installed in all grandeur for a few days till she expresses her desire to move further. During her halt there is continued feeding of the poor and hungry kept up and as many as eight to ten thousand are fed daily, all the money offerings are dumped into the copper receptacle, which is placed in front of the deity and are used to defray the expenses of the band and Washington lamps, of which there are twenty-five lit every night. One can imagine the thousands of coco-nuts that are offered daily when the shells have filled eight carts which have to be taken along with the deity to Chamundi Hill, and judging from the distance travelled we fear there will be another Chamundi of coco-nut shells.

From Hebbal the deity intends visiting Yeswanthapur *en route* to Bangalore City, where we learn the leading members are concerting measures befittingly to receive and entertain the goddess. Now as to the good which this deity is reported to be capable of doing we have not had any encouraging reports, and while we are led to believe that many of the offerings have been made with a view to escape the scourge of plague, there have been specific attacks of this disease in localities recently visited by the goddess. We shall be anxiously waiting to see what effect her visit will have in the way of exterminating this fell disease from Bangalore City, and we hope this will at least be the means of giving it a clean bill of health though we are inclined to think that so much free mingling of masses from infected and non-infected areas will only tend to spread the disease. But we trust all will end well.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.

2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.

3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen, who may be elected by the Committee.

4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Treasurer, two Joint Honorary Secretaries, three Branch Secretaries, the Editor, and five other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.

Any four of the above members to form a quorum.

5. The subscription shall be—

(*a*) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.

(*b*) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions are payable on election, or annually, on or before July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.

Membership is open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Ladies may become subscribers on payment of rupees three per annum.

6. The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in a Quarterly Journal which will be sent *free* to all members, and which will be on sale at 12 annas per copy to non-members.

7. There will be nine Ordinary Meetings in each Session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretaries.

8. Excursions to places of Historical interest, will be arranged and intimated to members.

9. Members may obtain, on application to the Secretaries, invitation cards for the admission of their friends to the lectures.

10. The Annual General Meetings will be held in March.

11. Framing and alteration of Rules rests entirely with the Committee.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
F. J. RICHARDS, } *Joint Secretaries.*

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

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S. P. C. K. PRESS, VEPERY, MADRAS—1912

The
Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. III] [No. 2

THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

MYTHIC SOCIETY

HELD IN

THE MAYO HALL, ON APRIL 29, 1912

The Rev. A. M. Tabard, President, in the Chair.

The Chairman opened the proceedings by calling upon Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar to read the report.

Second Annual Report of the Mythic Society

The Mythic Society which had a membership of

resident members	...	100
mofussil members	...	74

at the end of the first session has now according to the rolls of admission

resident members	...	129
mofussil members	...	126
subscribers	...	11
student members	...	1

It is easy, then, to see that, even after the names of those withdrawn from the Society either on account of non-payment of subscription, or on

other grounds, have been removed from the rolls, the membership, if not as good as we hope to make it in the near future, can yet be considered as eminently satisfactory.

The Society continues to have the same list of distinguished honorary members. The Honble. Col. Sir Hugh Daly, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., has kindly consented to become one of its Honorary Presidents. The Council remains as it was constituted at the end of the first session with no changes, and the Journal continues to be excellently edited by Mr. F. R. Sell, M.A., and printed by the S.P.C.K. Press, Madras.

There were nine meetings during the session and the usual programme of lectures and discussions was gone through on a variety of subjects. Lantern lectures were a feature of the session and added greatly to the attractiveness of the meetings.

The President was 'At Home' on January 9, 1911, to the members of the Society, when with the able assistance of Mr. M. Abdul Rahman Sahib, K.B., an interesting display of Mohurram masques helped all to spend a most enjoyable evening. The 'At Home' was given at 'Uplands' and the President, as well as the members, tender their thanks to Mrs. F. J. Richards, who kindly undertook the duties of hostess on the occasion.

Several excursions were organized by the President in the Mysore Province, others outside Mysore by individual members. Accounts of some of those excursions have already appeared in the Journal and we hope that the others will follow in the course of the present year.

The Society has been able to enlist wide sympathy in certain directions. The second volume of the Journal is already complete and the index is in preparation. The first issue of the third volume is in the hands of the printers.

All this is so far satisfactory. It has, however, to be noted that the lecturers take a great deal of coaxing before the lectures are ready, and the conducting of the Journal has on that account great difficulties to overcome.

The Treasurer's statement will show the financial conditions of the Society not to be as sound as one could wish. The cost of printing the Journal and the contingencies amount to about Rs 1,000. Subscriptions, if paid regularly, would give over Rs 1,100, which would suffice for our need, if we did not happen to be somewhat in arrears just now mostly because subscriptions due for the preceding session have not been paid up.

While expressing satisfaction for the work of the past year, the Committee would exhort members to do their best, particularly by the enlisting of new members, to help the Society forward as it seems undoubtedly to meet a want and has so far shown itself to be quite justifying its existence.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.
F. J. RICHARDS.

MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE

Statement of Account as it stood on March 31, 1912

RECEIPTS	Amount			EXPENDITURE	Amount		
	RS	A	P		RS	A	P
By Members' subscription—							
(*a*) Resident	1,081	14	0	To Printing and stationery	1,182	3	0
(*b*) Mofussil	423	13	0	„ Clerks' fees	58	0	0
„ Sale of Journals	63	3	0	„ Postage	181	5	9
				„ Contingencies as hire of room, lighting and furniture, etc.	38	2	7
				Cash in hand on March 31, 1912	109	2	8
Total ...	1,568	14	0	Total ...	1,568	14	0

G. H. KRUMBIEGEL,
Honorary Treasurer.

Balance Statement

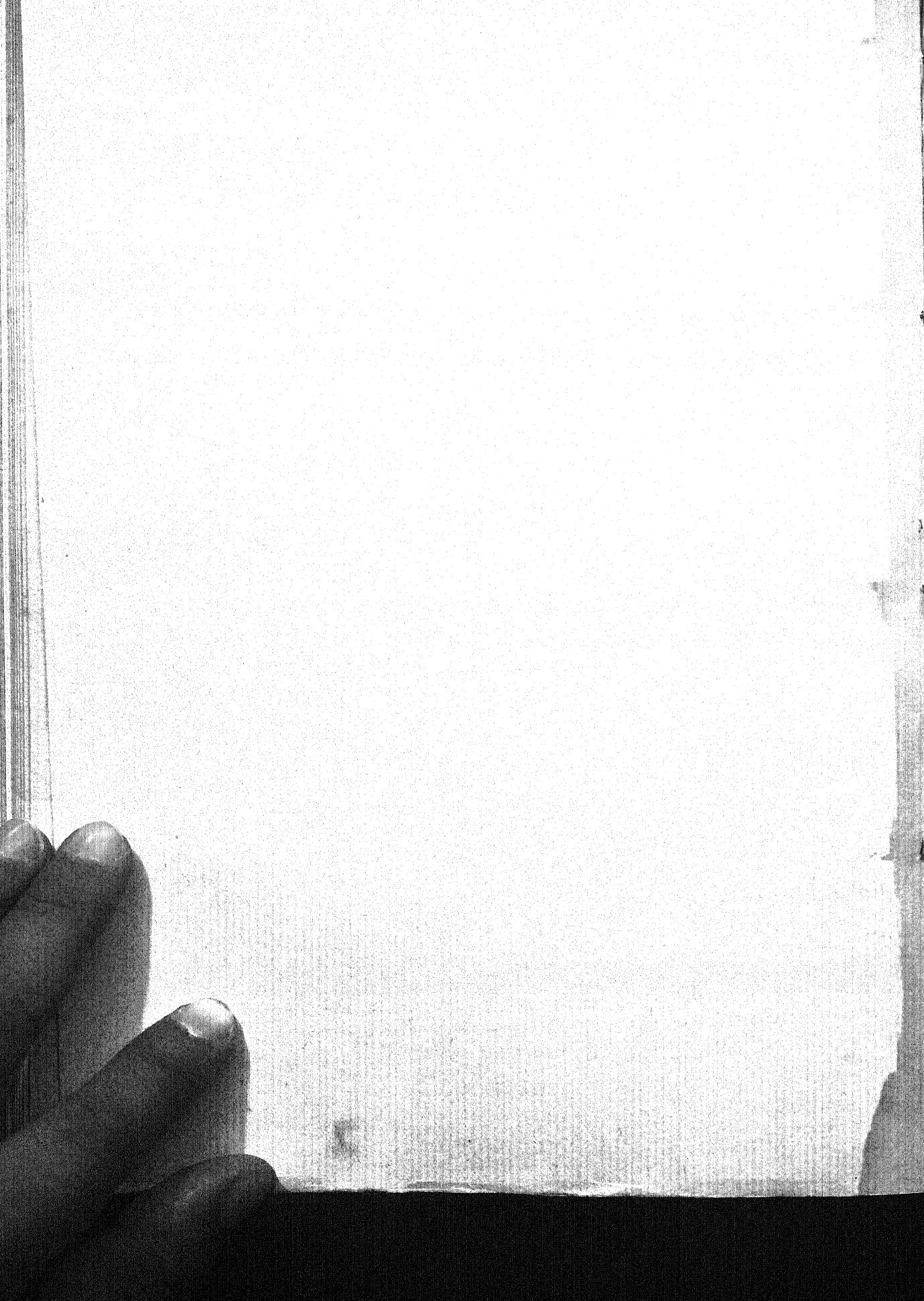
ASSETS	Amount			LIABILITIES	Amount		
	RS	A	P		RS	A	P
Cash balance with the Honorary Treasurer on March 31, 1912	109	2	8	Bill due to S.P.C.K. Press, as per their invoice, dated December 31, 1911	211	8	0
Subscriptions due	361	0	0	Credit balance	1,531	6	8
Value of Journals on hand, i. e. 1,697 Journals @ As. 12 each	1,272	12	0				
Total ...	1,742	14	8	Total ...	1,742	14	8

Number of members on March 31, 1912—

(*a*) Resident, 129; (*b*) Mofussil, 126; (*c*) Subscribers, 11; (*d*) Student, 1.

BANGALORE CITY,
April 28, 1912

G. H. KRUMBIEGEL,
Honorary Treasurer.



Presidential Address

GENTLEMEN,

At gatherings of this kind it is customary, I believe, for the President to deliver an address. Our Joint Secretary, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar gave me to understand that I would not be let off and this explains why in their report the Secretaries confined themselves to a few facts concerning the Society, leaving it to me to review more in detail the work done during the last session, and to discuss in a few words the means which appear to me necessary, or at least greatly desirable, in order to increase the sphere of its usefulness.

The results achieved since the foundation of the Society must have convinced by now all those acquainted with the facts that the Mythic Society has justified its existence and surpassed the most sanguine expectations of its founders.

The second annual report bears a striking testimony to the continued prosperity of our Society. In spite of the loss of members mostly due to the constant coming and going of the population in an Indian station and more especially in Bangalore there is a net increase in the membership of ninety-two. Yet, I venture to think, still more could be done in that direction if the members made it their duty to make the Society more widely known, not only in Bangalore and the Mysore Province, but also in other parts of India and even in Europe. There are thousands interested in the study of Indian archæology, ethnology, history and religions, who would no doubt, did they only know of its existence, become members of a Society founded to encourage the study of those different sciences.

Your Council have under consideration several schemes which they trust will promote that object, but they feel that the co-operation of all the members will help them greatly to attain it, and they trust that, at the next general meeting, they will be able to report that they have not been disappointed.

Every effort has been made to maintain in the second volume of the Journal the high standard which was so much appreciated in the first. It has been our good fortune to secure lecturers thoroughly acquainted with their subjects whose papers and some of the other contributions, with carefully selected illustrations, have helped to make the Journal attractive even to those whose bent of mind is not towards original research. We have thus avoided the reproach of being too much or not sufficiently learned, and this, I believe, to be the reason why every new issue of our Journal is looked forward to with anxious expectation from readers of the most opposite turns of mind.

In our second volume the claims of philosophy, history, religion and archæology have all been satisfied. In a thoughtful paper on the Brahmanaic system of religion and philosophy Mr. M. T. Narasimhiengar, B.A., M.R.A.S.,

has achieved the task of presenting a summary conspectus of the three great systems of the Vēdānta, namely, the Advaita, the Dvaita and the Viśiṣṭādvaita as formulated by the three great reformers, Śankara, Rāmānuja and Madhva.

The Lord Bishop of Madras, amidst his multifarious duties, found time to give us a most interesting paper on sacrifices to village deities, a subject on which he is, perhaps, the highest authority in this part of India. Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., M.R.A.S., in his paper on 'the history and commerce of the Indian Ocean', and Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., with 'the Hoysalas in Mysore and the South,' saw that history was not neglected in the Journal and Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, B.A. (Cantab), looked to the claims of ethnology in his lecture on 'Life in Ancient India at the time of the Jataka Stories'. Descriptive papers on 'Somaliland', by Captain C. Hudson, D.S.O., I.M.S., 'Vijianagar', by the Rev. A. Slater have also been an attractive feature of the Journal. The excursions to Savandroog and Talkad have furnished the subject of two articles in our Quarterly.

Yet, though congratulating ourselves on what has already been done, we feel that we must not rest satisfied with the success achieved but that some new efforts should be made to enhance the usefulness and interest of the Journal. We appeal, therefore, to all for a hearty co-operation towards that object. We have already received a munificent offer on the part of Dewan Bahadur Desikachariar who has undertaken to place at our disposal photographs of the whole of his collection of coins of southern India, undoubtedly the finest in the world: other gentlemen have also promised to contribute small articles and notes, which should go a long way to make the Journal still more interesting. There is also, I have no doubt, a mine of information in some other parts of southern India which never comes to light on account of the difficulties of publishing. Our Journal is open to such and students will always find us ready to publish articles of sufficiently high standard. Trichinopoly, Mangalore and Trevandrum, for instance, could be worked up if only the learned professors in the educational institutions of those places or other gentlemen interested in our studies could be prevailed upon to write on the subjects which fall within the scope of our Society.

We could well do with articles from time to time which are not strictly speaking pioneer work. If a writer would bring together and up-to-date with bibliographical references so that it would be possible to look up fuller information, all that has been written on a particular subject in the back numbers of English and foreign publications to enable scholars to see how matters stand at the present moment, a great service would be rendered to research. Translations of all the rare and old documents which are not easily accessible or of studies on Indian subjects which appear from time to time in foreign reviews would also be welcomed by our worthy Editor.

Personally I shall welcome, and I am sure many of the members will do so too, monographs of the great dynasties which have ruled Mysore, at least since the dawn of the Christian era. Will not some of our Indian members be tempted, for instance, by the magnificent idea of giving us, with maps of the kingdoms and plans of the capital cities, a continuous and complete history of the Gangas of Talkad and of the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra, as also of the Bijapur Carnatic of Sira?

Before passing on to another subject, I beg to be permitted to refer to a publication, which though not issued by the Mythic Society, still is not altogether unconnected with it, I mean *Ancient India* by one of our Joint Secretaries, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. The book has been reviewed in our Journal, and if I refer to it again it is simply to show that, when the historical spirit is beginning to take hold of Indian gentlemen, they can do invaluable work in throwing light on the obscure chapters of ancient Indian history. Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has set an example, which, I trust, will be followed by others. We shall always be pleased to place the Journal of the Mythic Society at the disposal of all those who are willing to study a special period of southern Indian history or to try their pens on some of the other subjects included in our programme.

It is a matter for regret that the scheme of field excursions has not approached anything like maturity, yet several small parties have visited some of the most historical and interesting spots in Mysore: Tundanur, the Lake of Pearls, Melukote, Sravanabelgola, Talkad, Savandrug, Sivagunga, Belur, Halebid; others have gone so far as Bijapur and Badami. There are still a host of interesting spots in Mysore and in the neighbouring districts of the Madras Presidency which, in these days of motor-cars, are quite accessible, but our experience of the past shows us that it will always be difficult, not to say impossible, to arrange excursions on a large scale; at the same time I can assure the members that it will always be a pleasure for me to assist them in the matter, when an excursion is contemplated by a small party.

Mr. F. J. Richards, M.A., has had the good fortune to make a discovery which will mark an epoch in the history of the Hoysalas. In the course of an exploring tour in the Salem district, he came across the ruins of a large city, which, so far, seems to have the best claim to be considered the capital of the Tamilian part of the Hoysala kingdom. We all hope that, when his official duties permit, Mr. F. J. Richards will be able to favour us with a description and the history of Kundāni, Ramanatha's Capital.

Before I conclude, there are two special points on which I should like to say a few words. The first is with regard to a home for our Society. It has always struck me that, if the Mythic Society has come to stay in Bangalore, it is absolutely necessary that it should have a place of its own, as we cannot always impose on the kindness of our friends to allow us the

use of a large hall when occasion requires. Besides, without a special building, we shall never be able to get together a reference library. If the Society is to continue its work and to expand its sphere, a library seems to me an absolute necessity. Works bearing on the subjects in which we are interested are most of them very expensive and beyond the means of individual members. On the other hand, when books are sent to us for review, or when exchanges are forwarded to us, it is to be regretted that there should be no place ready to receive them. It is then my strong opinion that without a hall for public and special meetings, without a library, the Mythic Society is not certain of the future. But, and this brings me to the second point to which I want to draw your attention, the financial condition of the Society does not seem to warrant any hope in that direction. As matters stand now, we find it extremely difficult to pay for the expenses of the Journal, and it is possible that scholarly enthusiasm and activity may be damped and curtailed and that even the existence of our Society may be endangered by shortness of funds. There are, as far as I see, three remedies for the situation which, if none is applied, threatens soon to become hopeless. Contributions from Government, an increase in the present nominal subscription or a very large increase in membership. I do not know how far we should be justified in depending on Government's help, and I am afraid that by increasing our rate of subscription we might fail in one of our objects which is to place the result of modern research within the reach of the most modest income. Then, to enable the Society to continue its work the only way is to increase, tenfold at least, the number of members and towards this result all the efforts of those interested in the welfare of the Society should tend. As I have already said, some steps which are contemplated by your Council may have that desired effect, but in the long run this looked for increase of membership must depend to a great extent on the efforts of individual members. When they find friends who take an interest in the subjects with which we are concerned they should press the claims of the Society remembering all the time that the more members we have the better it will be for our finances.

But even a large increase in membership will not provide the funds necessary for erecting a suitable building and for starting a library. Unless some munificent benefactor comes forward I am afraid hall and library will remain nothing but a fascinating dream. There are many public-spirited Indian gentlemen in Bangalore who could so well give reality to the dream if they would only understand that one of the best ways to show their patriotism and love of country would be to help to make known to the world the past glories of their native land. Is it too much to hope that one of them will provide the Mythic Society with a suitable habitation and earn the thanks of a grateful posterity by erecting a monument to the archæological, historical and other glories of southern India?

With this, Gentlemen, it only remains for me, after expressing the hope that, in spite of difficulties, the Mythic Society will continue to live and flourish, to move the adoption of the report.

Mr. G. J. Ingram Cotton seconded the proposition which was carried unanimously.

Election of the Council for the coming session

The Rev. A. M. Tabard after having placed before the meeting the resignation of the Council vacated the Chair and proposed that Mr. F. J. Richards take his place and proceed with the election of a new Council for the ensuing session.

Mr. F. J. Richards, on taking the Chair, expressed his regret that during the past session, owing to circumstances over which he had no control, he had been an unworthy Secretary and an unworthy member of the Society. He hoped that in the ensuing session he would be able to devote more time to the interests of the Society. He paid a cordial tribute to the zeal and energy of the President, the Rev. A. M. Tabard, and of the other Joint Secretary, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, and felt sure that, were it not for their enthusiasm, the Society would have fallen to pieces. It was due to them, to the Editor, Mr. F. R. Sell, and to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. G. H. Krumbiegel, that the Society was still vigorous and that its future prospects were full of hope. He was of opinion that the financial position was by no means unsatisfactory. The Society had issued its Journal at a modest price, had launched out into costly illustrations and, but for the unexpected circumstance that certain members had defaulted with their subscriptions to the extent of Rs 300, the session would have closed with a surplus of Rs 200. Regarding the alternatives suggested by the President in his admirable address he emphatically urged that the true policy of the Society should be to enlarge the membership and expand the scope of the Journal without increasing its price. An enlarged membership would mean a better Journal, and he trusted that every member would take note of this and do his utmost to enlist the interest of friends in the work of the Society. If each member could induce two friends to join in the course of the coming session the Journal could be immensely improved. He contended that the Society had hitherto only touched the fringe of the work that lay before them. One great obstacle to acquiring a knowledge of the ancient history of South India was the costly nature of the various publications that embodied the results of modern research. It is the duty of the Society to bring the knowledge embodied in those works within the reach of people of modest means. The Society should not be ashamed of *rechauffé work*, and he recommended strongly that they should obtain permission to reprint as much of the published literature on South India as concerned the interests which the

Society was founded to promote. He submitted that the ethnographic, archæological and numismatic collections in the Bangalore museum would admit of more scientific arrangement; he felt sure that the Government of His Highness the Maharaja would welcome the formation of a sub-committee of members of the Society for the preparation of a series of *catalogues raisonnés* in popular form. Again, could not a few of the older residents of the C. and M. Station of Bangalore favour the Society with occasional notes regarding the older buildings in the town, the old residency, the old museum, the bank, and other landmarks of the Bangalore of the early nineteenth century which were fast disappearing? Not a word had been said in the Journal of our local temples. In the first place very few members had the faintest idea of what a typical Hindu temple ought to contain, or what was the significance of its appurtenances or ritual. Notes on the general view of these subjects were first necessary and then members would be in a position to take up the systematic study of such ancient institutions as the Somswara and Subramanya temples of Ulsoor or the temples at Basvangudi. So far the Society had failed to obtain articles dealing with the past history of any of the innumerable towns and villages scattered over South India. A glance of Volume II of Mr. Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer* would show that in the local history of towns and villages there is an inexhaustible mine of interest. Could not some of the members induce some of their friends who lived up-country to work up, in some detail, the points of interest of the places they resided in, their history as recorded in the descriptions so admirably arranged in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, the legends of their local purana and the surviving relics of their ancient topography as evidenced by traces of rampart and fosse, of temple and kacheri, points which local tradition does so much to explain? Again, many of the ancient Catholic missions in South India must have in their archives many unpublished documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth century which would be of consummate interest to all readers of the Journal. Could not some of the many cultured representatives of the Catholic missions in South India supply us with translations of those documents, if possible with annotations and cross references, to bring them into line with modern research? One such document published in every issue of the Journal would suffice to keep up interest and would throw a flood of light on the political conditions of a period of South Indian history of which but little is known. Or failing original documents much useful work might be done by taking up a classic like Father Bertrand's *La Mission du Madurè*, by working up all its references to some particular district and by verifying the historical and topographical references of which such works are full. Lastly it was a matter of regret that the notes on Hindu festivals, which appeared in the earlier issues of the Journal, were discontinued. Few Europeans had the faintest idea of the principles which govern the solar and lunar years of the South Indian

almanack and the manner in which they fit in with the agricultural calendar. All that the average European in Bangalore was aware of was that work is repeatedly dislocated with an endless succession of holidays, and the speaker suggested that, if on each public holiday at least one Brahman member of the Society would sacrifice his leisure to preparing a note explanatory of the *raison d'être* of the holiday, he would confer a lasting benefit on his crassly ignorant European neighbour.

Mr. F. J. Richards then proposed that the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., be re-elected President of the Mythic Society for the coming session.

The proposition was seconded by M. Abdul Rahman Saib, K.B., in the following terms:—

It gives me great pleasure to second the proposition that the Rev. A. M. Tabard, the retiring President of our Society, be re-elected for the coming session. We all know him, but few can share with me the privilege of having being acquainted with him for over a quarter of a century. This then must give a greater weight to my opinion when I say that I have the highest admiration for the scholarly attainments of the reverend gentleman as also for his unfailing tact which is the secret of his popularity in Bangalore.

Although I have not regularly attended our Society's meetings during the last session, owing chiefly to want of time, I have read the proceedings of the meetings with great interest, and I feel certain that you will all agree with me in attributing a large part of the success and popularity of our Society to the keen enthusiasm of our President, and in feeling certain that, as long as he is here to guide the destinies of the Mythic Society, we have nothing to fear. I have been associated with him in various public functions, and I know that when he undertakes a thing one may be sure that it will be well done.

I have then the honour to second the proposition that the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., be re-elected President of the Mythic Society for the coming session.

The proposition was carried unanimously.

The next item on the Agenda was the election of a new Council.

On the proposition of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. P. Sampat Aiyangar, M.A., and carried unanimously, the Council was elected as follows:—

Vice-Presidents—P. B. Warburton, Esq., I. C. S., V. P. Madhava Rao, Esq., B.A., C.I.E., Dr. Morris W. Travers, F.R.S.

Editor—F. R. Sell, Esq., M.A.

Honorary Treasurer—G. H. Krumbiegel, Esq., F.R.H.S.

Joint Secretaries—S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S.
F. J. Richards, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., M.R.A.S.

Branch Secretaries—For Ethnology: Rev. F. Goodwill.
For History: Rev. A. R. Slater.
For Religions: P. Sampat Aiyangar, Esq., M.A.

Committee—The above ex-officio and Dr. P. S. Achyuta Rao, L.M.S., C. S. Balasundram Aiyar, Esq., B.A., Dr. S. V. Ramasami Aiyangar, M.D., L.R.C.P., D.S. (Edin.), L.F.P.P.S. (Glas.), R. A. Narasimhachar, Esq., M.A., E. P. Metcalfe, Esq., B.SC.

In a few words the Rev. A. M. Tabard begged to thank the meeting for the great honour they had done him in re-electing him President of the Society and more especially Mr. F. J. Richards and Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahman for the flattering terms in which they had referred to him. He did not quite agree with them as to his qualifications for the honour; but, as they had been unanimous in electing him, he would, in accepting it, assure them that he would continue to do his best for the Society. He hoped that all would help him in the discharge of his duties and in that connexion he would like to point out that one of the means to do it would be to attend the meetings regularly. Too many members were satisfied with reading the papers when they appeared in the Journal, yet a large audience is always an encouragement to a lecturer and a well-attended meeting provides more and better opportunities for an interesting discussion. He trusted also that the Secretaries would have during the coming session no difficulty in finding lecturers who would keep up the high standard of the Society's monthly meetings.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman proposed by Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and seconded by the Rev. L. Froger, M.A., brought the proceedings to a close.

THE ANCIENT CITY OF BIJAPUR

A paper read before the Mythic Society

By the Rev. A. Slater

Of this city, Meadows Taylor, who has contributed much to its archæological and historical interest, says: 'For such legends of that beautiful memorial of past greatness (the royal citadel in Bijapur) an interest for all time has been created: but no one has succeeded in awakening for Bijapur any corresponding feeling, and far grander as its memorials are, accounts of them are listened to with a cold scepticism or indifference which hitherto nothing has aroused. And yet, inspired by the effect of those beautiful ruins with the glory of an Indian sun lighting up palace and mosque, prison and zenana, embattled tower and rampart, with a splendour which can only be felt by personal experience, it may be hoped that some eloquent and poetic pen may be found to gather up the fleeting memorials of traditions which are fast passing away and invest them with a classic interest which will be imperishable. Above all, however, these noble monuments may serve to lead our countrymen to appreciate the intellect, the taste and the high power of art execution, which they evince, to consider their authors not as barbarians, but in the position to which their works justly entitled them: and to follow, in the history of those who conceived them, that Divine scheme of civilization and improvement which, so strangely and so impressively, has been confided to the English nation.'

Since these words were written there has been considerable advance in the interest shown in 'the memorials of a past greatness' which are to be found in the city of Bijapur, the city of victory. Not a little is owed to Lord Curzon for his energetic action in regard to the preservation of the existing buildings, and the protection of some of the structures from being put to ignoble purposes. The student is indebted to Fergusson, Burgess, and especially to A. Cousens, M.R.A.S., of the Archæological Survey of India, for clear and concise accounts of the city and for descriptions of the main features of the architecture of the many large buildings at present standing.

In so limited a lecture it is difficult to combine historical, archæological, and descriptive accounts of so large a city but no lecture can approach success which fails to take some account of each of these branches. It appears the most convenient way to give first a brief sketch of the beginnings of the kingdom, and in order to keep up a certain sequence, to describe in succession the structures as they were built. While doing so opportunities may be afforded for brief references to the ruling king and his contribution to the history of the kingdom.

(In accordance with this plan the lecturer threw on the screen about sixty pictures taken by himself.)

THE ORIGIN OF THE EMPIRE

YUSUF ADIL SHAH, the founder of the Bijapur kingdom, entered India under circumstances somewhat peculiar. On the demise of his father, Murad, Sultan of Turkey in 1451, he was saved from the fate his brothers suffered, that of violent death, by a stratagem of his mother's, who conceived the idea of his deliverance by the agency of a wealthy merchant by whom young Yusuf was carried from the zone of danger. He ultimately found his way to the court of the Bahmani king, Sultan Muḥammad. His handsome presence, generous spirit and skilful feats soon obtained a high measure of favour from the king, further increased by his successful invasion of the Telugu country. As a reward for this victory he was appointed Governor of Bijapur. But the Bahmani kingdom was quickly breaking up, and Yusuf was able in 1489 to take the decisive step of ordering the Khutba to be read in the mosques in his own name. Kasim Barid, minister of Bidar and Timraj of Vijayanagar were a perpetual menace to him in the early years of his independent reign and his unwise attempt to introduce the Shiah faith made many enemies within. On his death he was succeeded by his son, Ismail Adil Shah, whose reign of twenty-four years was largely spent in fighting. It was during the siege of Golconda, 1534, that he became sick. He sank and died at Sagar. His eldest son, Mallu Adil Shah, ruled for a year, but he failed to rise to his responsibilities and was deposed by order of Asad Khan and his grandmother Punji Khatan.

THE CITY

BEFORE attempting to describe the buildings in the order suggested, a few facts about the city and its fortifications will serve to assist the reader in understanding the importance of the former and the strength of the defences by which the Bijapur Kings protected it. Bijapur is reached after a journey of many miles over barren country, but, being on the railway, is quite easy of access to visitors. There is a fortified wall consisting of ninety-six bastions with their connecting curtain walls, and five principal gates. The whole circuit of the walls is six and a quarter miles while the area

within them is 1,300 acres. Stone and mortar have been used to give as strong a wall as possible and rammed earth has been placed between the outer and inner casings. A high wall protects the platform running from bastion to bastion. These bastions are semi-circular in plan and on them are mounted several large guns, some of them of huge dimensions. The pivot of the carriage is placed in a hole in the centre of the platform and the huge piece of artillery is held tight, during firing, by wedges between it and the stone wall, thus preventing undue strain on the pivot from the recoil. A deep moat running nearly the whole length of the walls formed an additional protection to the city. The variety of design is accounted for, locally, by the report that sections were built by different nobles who were invited by the ruler, on his return from the battle of Talikote, to take part in the erection of the defences. The five chief gates were protected by flanking bastions, double gates and covered approaches. A striking tower of great height, known as the Haidar Burj, is a conspicuous feature, and is worthy of notice by reason of the long gun, the 'Farflier', the longest in the city, thirty feet from end to end. It is a problem to know how such a piece of ordnance was raised to that level. Suggestions have been made that it was gradually raised as the tower was built, or that an inclined plane served the purpose of lifting the gun to its present position. Two other guns, the Malik-i-Maidan on the west wall and the Landa Kasab a gun on the south fortifications, are well worthy of a visit, the former, especially, being of great historical interest. Space forbids any account of these but both the Gazetteer and Cousen's guide give good descriptions of them.

THE EARLY KINGS

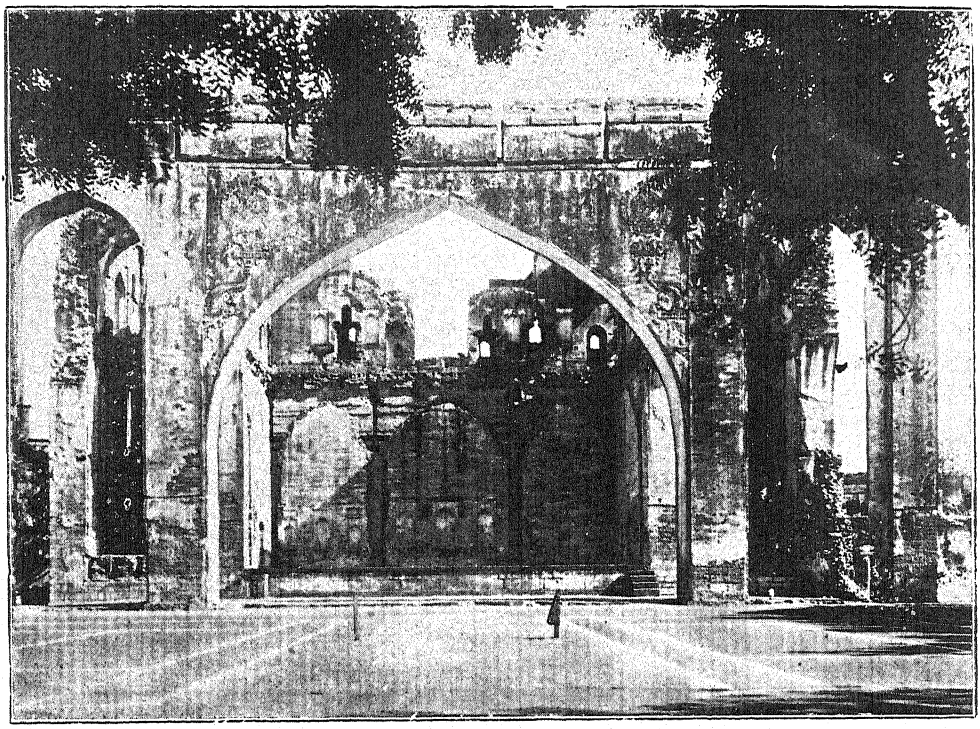
I HAVE already stated that I propose to deal with the various buildings in the order in which it seems probable that they were built. For fifty or sixty years the struggle of the Adil Shahs to hold their own made it impossible for the early kings to pay much attention to architecture, all they did was to make as good provision as possible for the defence of their newly chosen capital. The most important buildings were constructed between 1557–1660, a period of one hundred years. Fergusson says: 'During that period, however, their capital was adorned with a series of buildings as remarkable as those of any Muḥammadan capital of India, hardly excepting Delhi and Agra, and showing a wonderful originality of design not surpassed by those of such capitals as Jaunpur and Ahmadabad, though differing from them in a marked degree.'

The citadel or Ask-killah, one of the most important parts of Bijapur, was the place chosen by Yusuf Adil Shah as the site of the new fort. It is scarcely a mile in circumference but has a strong defence, a rampart with bastions, and a moat. Strong walls built of the stones from a Hindu temple replaced the original mud wall. But despite these

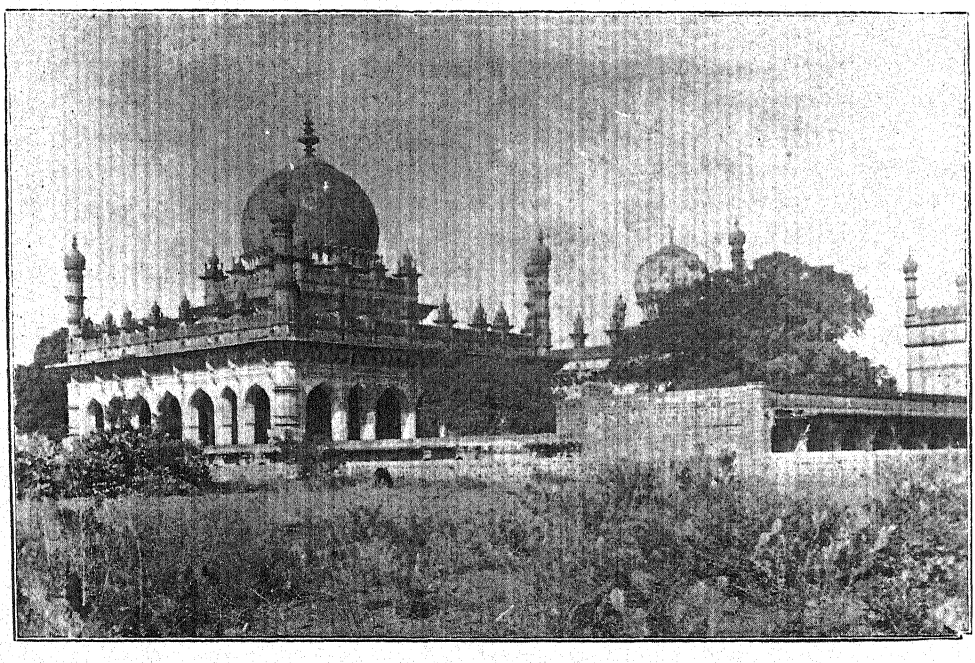
efforts to make the citadel a safe place, the wisdom of the selection of this site cannot be praised, for it is in the lowest part of the city and would have been easily demolished by the guns of the enemy fixed on the surrounding high ground. It was, however, never used as a citadel, but was, for many years, a palace. The Makka Musjid is supposed to be a correct imitation of the mosque at Mecca and is enclosed by a high wall. The two high towers were probably used as places from which the call to prayer was sounded. The date of the building is uncertain but there are certain features which seem to point to this as being the oldest building in the city. It is credited to a saint or pir of the thirteenth century. The rough material used would suggest that the structure was erected before the Muḥammadans had begun to confiscate the Hindu buildings for the purpose of providing the materials necessary for their erections. The Dekkani Idgah was probably the work of Yusuf, the founder, though an inscription on the wall dates it as being built in the reign of Ibrahaim II. There is no evidence of the architectural style of that period, and it seems likely that the date refers rather to the repairing of the building. It is a large structure but without any beauty.

ALI ADIL SHAH I, 1557 TO 1580

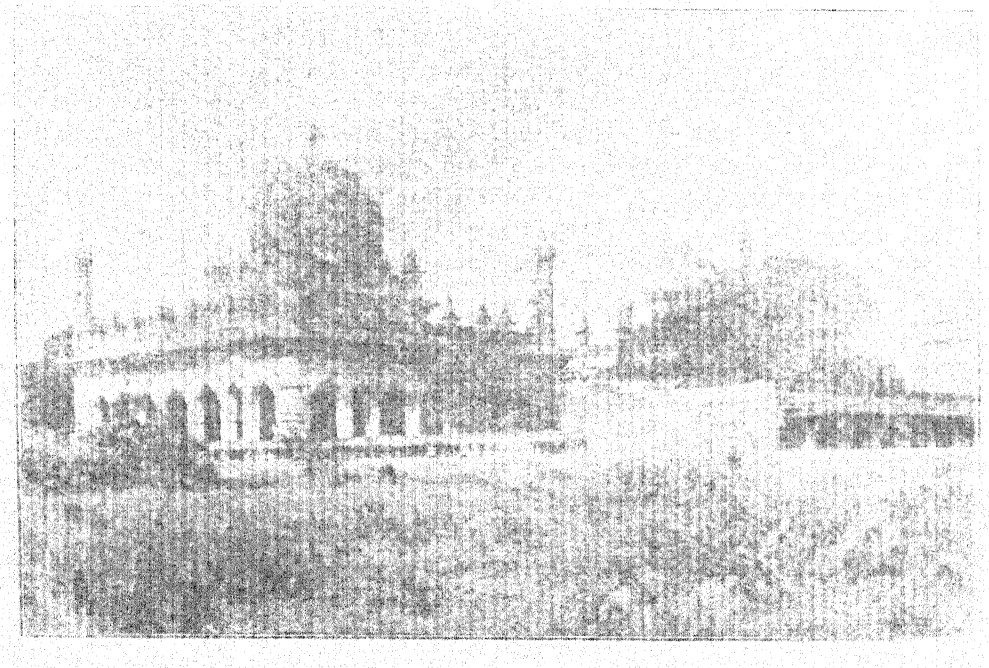
ALI ADIL SHAH I, ascended the throne in 1557 and received in marriage the famous Chanda Bibi, the daughter of the Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, who was later to play so brave a part in the defence of her country. It was by the help of the Nizam Shah and Ali Barid of Bidar that the great conflict took place at Talikote in 1565 whereby the Vijayanagar kingdom was completely destroyed and the wonderful city made a vast ruin. By the wealth gained by this victory Adil rebuilt the walls of Bijapur in order to secure himself against the invaders. Later he attempted to drive out the Portuguese from Goa but without success. In a dispute with a slave at Gulburga regarding the return of certain jewels which belonged to her daughter he was struck with a dagger and immediately died. He was buried in a small mausoleum in the south-west corner of the city. But Adil Shah, though so much engaged in fighting, did not neglect the city. The Gagan Mahal or Hall of Audience is a remarkable ruin, remarkable chiefly for its historic interest and the immense arch which still stands in a good state of preservation. It was built in 1561 as a palace, the upper storeys being used as apartments for the royal household. The span is 60′ 9″. It is supposed that the architect made the arch of such great dimensions in order that the king and nobles might witness, while seated in the hall, the varied tournaments held in connexion with the Durbar. Meadows Taylor says: ‘There in 1686 the Emperor Aurungzebe received the submission of the last of the Adil Shah kings, the youthful Sikandar, amid the passionate tears



THE GAGAN MAHAL



IBRAHAIM RAUZA



ПРАПАЛЯ ПАЛЯЗА

of the nobles and the wailing cries of thousands which rose to the throne of God as a witness against a causeless aggressor.'

It is notable as the place where Chanda Bibi held her court from 1581 to 1584. The principal mosque of the city, the Jama Musjid, was commenced by Ali Adil Shah I and is a worthy example of Bijapur architecture. Its dome is said to be the most perfect in the city and is built on the principle of pendentives, for an account of which it will be necessary to refer the reader to Fergusson's *Ancient and Eastern Architecture*, as the system is not easy to describe without the assistance of diagrams. As several of the largest domes are built by this method, the student will do well to follow Fergusson's figures and illustrations. The massive square pillars of the Jama Musjid divide the length of the facade into nine bays and the depth into five. Nine of the forty-five bays thus formed are occupied by the central dome. There is a fine courtyard between the two wings and a gateway of no mean beauty on the eastern side. The floor is divided into squares, 2,250 in number, for the accommodation of worshippers.

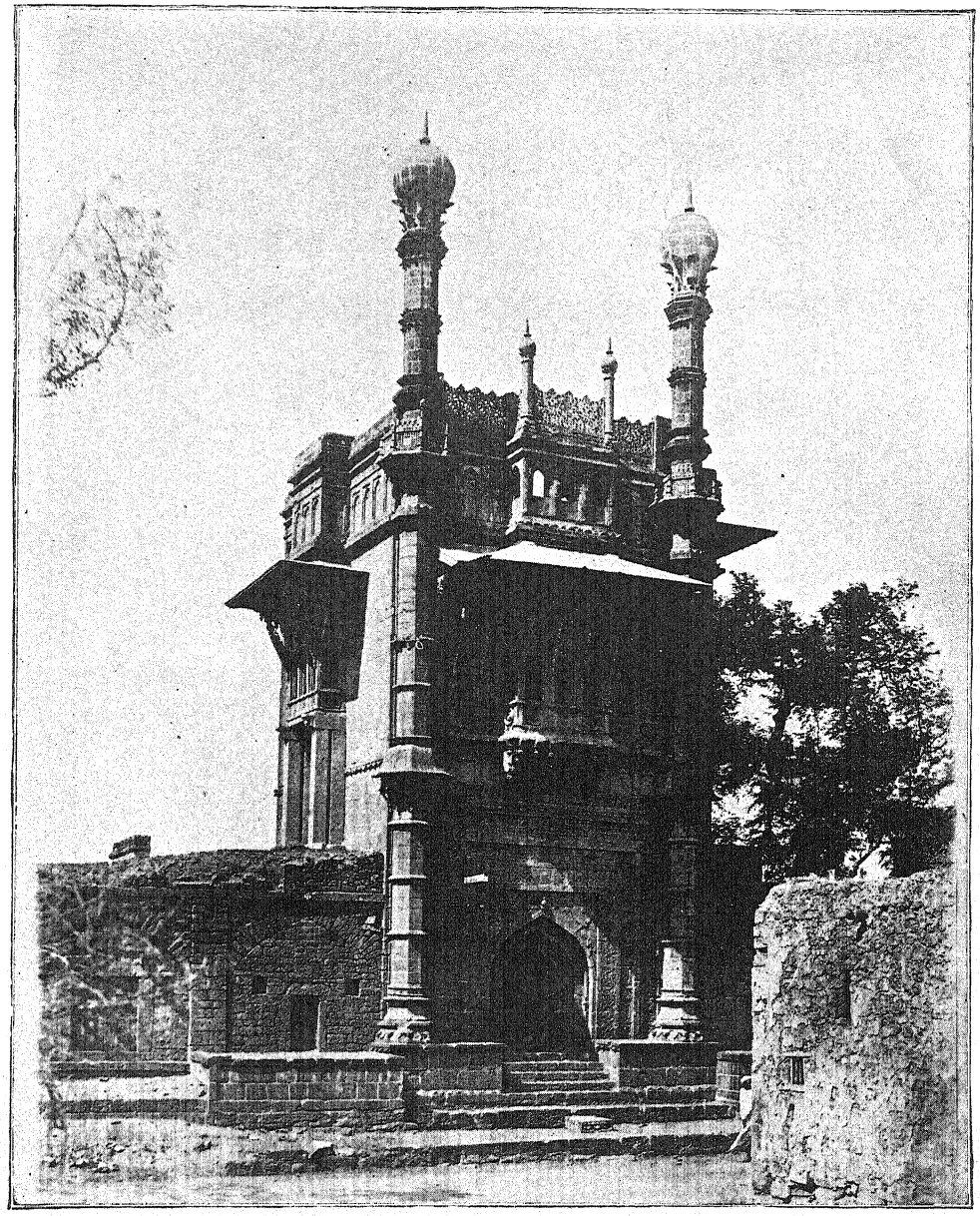
IBRAHAIM ADIL SHAH II

THE nephew of Ali ascended the throne in 1580 as Ibrahaim II at the age of nine. The days of his minority were full of tumult, and it was not till the young king broke the power of Dilawar Khan that he had any real power in the kingdom. But, in spite of the fact that there was not a little fighting and considerable intrigue to which the king was obliged to devote his attention, he has left his mark on the buildings of Bijapur. The Sat Manjli was built in 1583 and the visitor desiring an extensive view of the city and its environs cannot do better than repair to the tower of this once lonely palace from which a view scarcely to be excelled can be obtained. Originally composed of seven storeys it must, in itself, have been an impressive building. The interior decoration is an evidence of the quality of the workmanship of that period. At present the building has only five storeys which rise to a height of ninety-seven feet. A prominent feature of the city was its water-supply which by several historians has been considered almost perfect. The water was brought from Torveh and Begam, a considerable distance from the city, by means of large channels some of which may still be traced. The Muḥammadans had a special fondness for a good water-supply and in the palaces water was conveyed by all sorts of contrivances. There was usually a large tank in the enclosure and, when this was full, the water ran in channels to the various parts of the garden, the floor of the channels being cut into zigzag ridges against which the water struck and rebounded in thousands of little ripples. The effect must have been very pretty. Perhaps the Taj Bauri is the finest example of the huge storage tanks in use. It is said that Sultan Muḥammad, having ill-treated Malik Sandal, the architect of Ibrahaim Rauza,

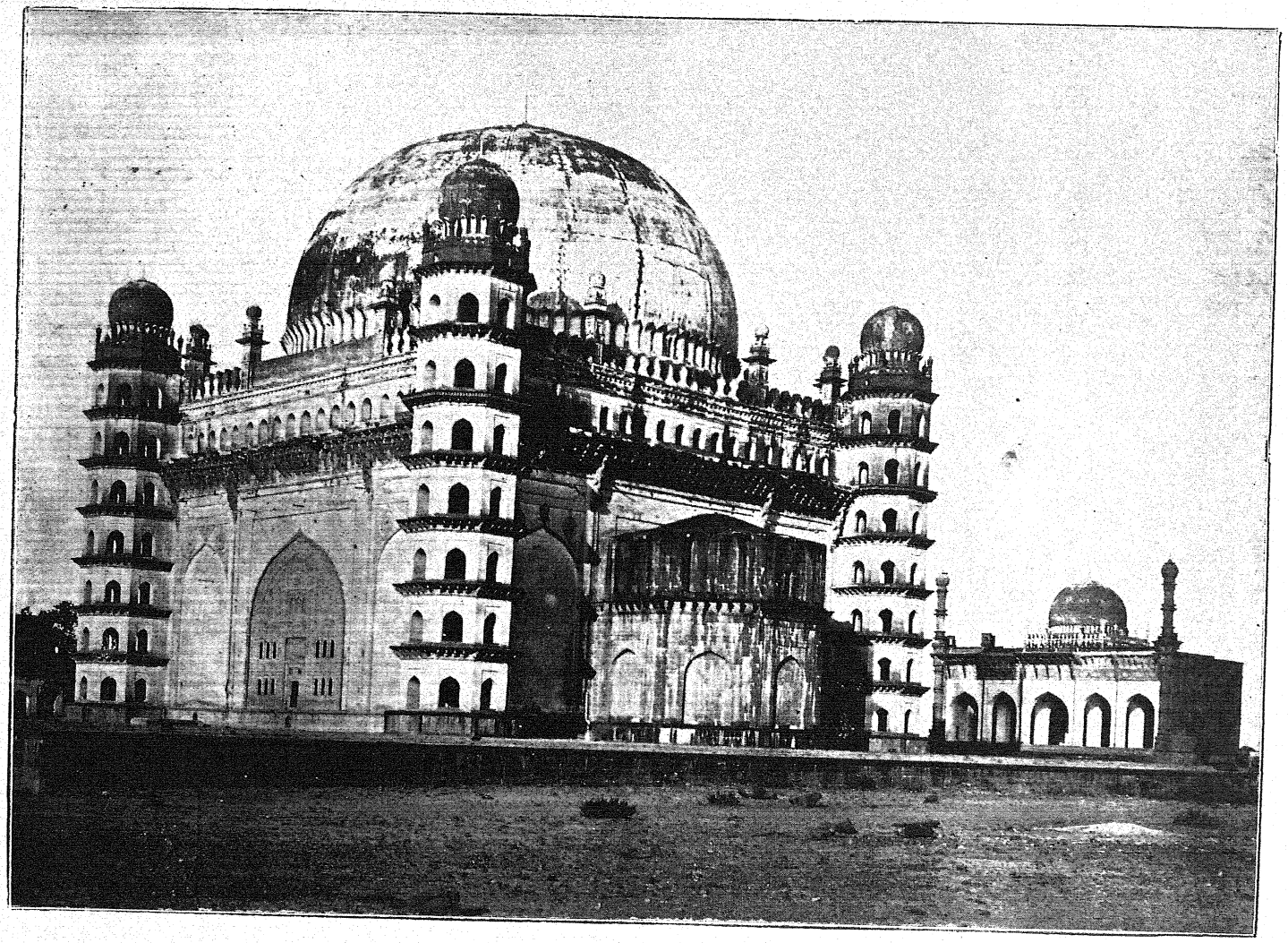
wished to make reparation and offered to confer any favour he desired. The architect decided on the construction of a large bauri as a suitable way by which his name might be perpetuated. As there is no evidence of any association of his name with the place it is more likely that the account which ascribes it to the desire of the architect to honour Taj Sultana, Queen of Ibrahaim II, is the more correct one.

There are many places in the city the visitor is obliged to pass unless he have unlimited time; but the Mehta Mahal must be seen at all costs. While called a palace it is really a mosque with a wonderful gateway, the carving on which is of a very high standard of workmanship. The gateway is a tall square tower having two minarets of great beauty, sixty feet in height, and has long windows with most ornate carving. The stone brackets above the lancet-shaped windows are exceedingly thin, long, rectangular slabs, perforated and worked over with the most beautiful arabesque. They have existed in almost perfect condition for 300 years. Along the crest of the building between the minarets is a perforated parapet of great beauty. Many stories are told of the origin of this structure but space forbids the recapitulation of them. But perhaps of all buildings in the city the group known as the 'Ibrahaim Rauza' is most worthy of closest study. Fergusson calles it, 'A group of buildings more elaborately adorned than any in India.' The Ibrahaim Rauza is a wonderful group of buildings and hours may be spent in the mosque, the tomb, and the gardens which surround these buildings. They were built by Ibrahaim II as his mausoleum and with him are buried his queen and several other members of his family. The buildings are entered by a gateway having two minarets and a very finely carved front, a worthy entrance to so fine a group. The tomb itself has an outer colonnade of seven arches and a platform twenty feet wide, and an inner colonnade of five arches. The exterior of the sepulchral chamber is decorated very richly, and it is at once evident that much time, labour and skill have been spent on it. It is elaborately decorated with shallow surface tracery of arabesque with extracts from the Qur'án interlaced. The shape of the pillars is more suggestive of Hindu than of Muḥammadan architecture. The inscription at the door is as follows :—

'Heaven stood astonished at the elevation of this building and it might be said that, when its head rose from the earth, another heaven was erected. The Garden of Paradise has borrowed its beauty from this garden, and every column here is graceful as the Cypress tree in the Garden of Purity. An angel from heaven announced the date of the structure, 1626, by saying, "This building, which makes the heart glad, is the memorial of Taj Sultana". There is an interesting ceiling in the sepulchral chamber, which is flat and known as a "hanging ceiling". There is no apparent support, and it appears to have been carried out contrary to all ordinary rules of building. The secret seems to lie in the strength and tenacity of the mortar used.



MEHTA MAHAL



BOL GOMBAZ

Opposite the tomb is a mosque with well-proportioned minarets. It is of interest to note that it was Ibrahaim who founded the new city of Nauraspur' as his capital but it, however, was never inhabited.[1]

SULTAN MUḤAMMAD

THE early years of Sultan Muḥammad were occupied in the strife with the Ahmadnagar kingdom which was ultimately disintegrated. From 1636 to the date of his death in 1656 the country enjoyed a period of rest which afforded the king an opportunity of erecting several notable structures, the most important, his own tomb, being a massive building which is worthy of a somewhat lengthy description. It has been questioned why it was possible to erect so many buildings in Bijapur a city, which at the height of its fame, would not number more than a million people. The expenses of a Moslem household were comparatively small, and the surplus money could not be devoted to anything save the erection of buildings. 'The erection of mosques and monuments was the only way in which the rich man could display his riches and leave behind him a name. Though the great men were likely to have been superstitious and perpetrated atrocities enough to quicken their superstition by remorse, yet we must not ascribe these buildings to superstition alone, but to the desire of popularity, the parade of wealth, the desire of courting the favour of the sovereign, the love of fame, every other passion which could wear the disguise of the prevalent principle or predominant fashion.'

To outrival his predecessor in the structure where his bones should rest seems to have been the aim of each of the Deccan rulers. Muḥammad Adil Shah realized that, so far as beauty of design and workmanship were concerned, the tomb of his father Ibrahaim Rauza could not be excelled. But where quality would not give him pre-eminence, at least, quantity might grant it. He therefore decided to build the Bol Gombaz of such size as to dwarf every other building in the city. With this in view he commenced the work at the beginning of his reign. The general appearance of the building is that of a great cube, surmounted by a huge hemispherical dome with an octagonal tower at each of the four corners. These towers were crowned by smaller domes. A deep overhanging cornice runs round the four sides. The dome is a hemisphere, 124′ 5″ interior diameter. Its thickness is 10′ at the base 9′ at the crown. The space covered is the largest in the world, 18,110 square feet. The next in size is the Pantheon at Rome which covers 15,833 square feet. The exterior height of the building is 198′ 6″. Of great interest to the visitor is the wonderful whispering gallery at the base of the dome. Here a single sound is echoed no less than ten times. The dome is built on the principle of the pendentives already mentioned.

[1] A note on this deserted city will appear in a later issue of this Journal.—ED.

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The Asar Mahal was erected in 1646 as a Hall of Justice, but it was abandoned as such and used as a palace. The building is the most sacred in the city owing to the presence of a casket which is said to contain two hairs of the Prophet Muḥammad's beard. These relics are carefully sealed and kept under the supervision of a small committee.

From the time of the Sultan Muḥammad's reign till the close of the dynasty we have few evidences of their work. The second Ali found his reign troubled by two great forces, Aurungzebe and Sivaji. He was scarcely ever at peace, and he was unable to complete his mausoleum. This mausoleum, had it been completed, would have covered a larger space than even the Bol Gombaz. The kingdom passed to his son, Sikandar, who was soon forced to submit to Aurungzebe.

The buildings of chief importance in the city have been briefly described. The visitor may spend many days examining the buildings that are still preserved, but he will not consider that his time has been wasted. He will come away with a sense of the greatness of those ancient architects who spared no thought or labour to make these structures worthy of their king and of their religion.

NOTE

As few of the members of the Mythic Society have access to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, it is hoped that a reprint of the discussion between Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., Ph.D. and Mr. L. Rice, C.I.E., will prove acceptable to the readers of our journal. It may, perhaps, be a disappointment for many to learn that there are many and forcible arguments against Mr. Rice's theory, but the claims of truth ought to be paramount. It is better to know both sides of the question, even if in the end one has to admit that it is likely that the Mahishamaṇḍala of the Buddhist Edicts is not Mysore.—THE EDITOR.

MAHISHAMAṆḌALA AND MYSORE[1]

BY DR. J. F. FLEET, C.I.E., PH.D.

THE *Imperial Gazetteer* of India says that the Mahishamaṇḍala mentioned as one of the territories to which Moggaliputta-Tissa, the great priest who convened the Third Council 236 years after the death of Buddha (and not Aśōka as is asserted by lax writers), despatched his Buddhist missions, is the modern Mysore.[2] And this has certainly been the belief for a long time past. We do not know exactly with whom it originated. Turnour, in 1837, entered Mahishamaṇḍala as 'one of the ancient divisions of India, not identified';[3] and in 1854 Cunningham said: 'this country is not known; it may be Maheswara, on the Narbada'.[4] On the other hand, Wilson, at some time before 1860, explained the Māhishakas of the *Mahābhārata* as 'the people of Mysore'.[5] And the identification of Mahishamaṇḍala with Mysore was presented in 1874 as an established point, needing no citation of authority, by the editor of the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. iii, p. 273). It would seem, therefore, that the belief is based on something which was advanced conjecturally between 1854 and 1860, and was gradually converted into a supposed certainty in a not infrequent manner. And the identification is given as a certainty in two other recent works which are intended, like the *Imperial Gazetteer*, to be authoritative guides. It is asserted by Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Aśōka*

[1] *Vide JRAS* (1910), p. 429.
[2] *Vide JRAS* (1908), pp. 162, 169, 253, 261.
[3] *Mahāwanso Index and Glossary*, p. 16.
[4] *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 117.
[5] *Vishnu Purana Translation*, vol. ii, p. 178, note 6.

(second edition, 1909), p. 44; where, by the way, the first component of the name is shown in the mistaken form 'Mahīśa' 'lord of the earth'. And to the extent that Mahishamaṇḍala means, not the whole of Mysore territory, but 'the country round (the city) Mysore', it is presented on p. 14 of Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* which book, 'published for Government' in 1909, puts forward (we regret to have to say), as sober history for the period before A.D. 750, much fabulous matter which has no basis except in spurious records dating from the tenth century and onwards, in late chronicles which display great ignorance of the real facts of early times, and in legends which we cannot even dignify by calling them traditions.

Support of the views thus expressed has been found in the fact that we have two Aśōka edicts engraved on rocks at Siddāpura, Brahmagiri, and Jaṭṭiṅga-Rāmēśvāra in the Chitaldroog district of Mysore; it being also asserted, on the same basis, that Mysore was included in the Maurya empire. That, however, has nothing to do with the case. We cannot here elaborate the history of what is now the Chitaldroog district; but the following brief statement may be made. It was only about A.D. 950 that the Chitaldroog territory first passed into the hands of any ruler who held also the southern part of Mysore, where the modern name-giving capital is. It subsequently developed into a separate petty state, under Poligars; and it was only in A.D. 1779 that it was annexed to the territory of the present rulers of Mysore.[1] It was certainly foreign territory as regards the dominions of Aśōka and his line.[2] And there is every reason for believing that Isila, the ancient town at which there resided the officials to whom the edicts in question were transmitted from Suvarnagiri in Magadha, and in the neighbourhood of which they were published on the rocks by them, was at that time, and probably for many centuries afterwards, a subdivisional town of the great kingdom of Vanavasi, or more strictly Vaijayanti; it was at any rate not in any territory bearing the name Mysore; no such territory existed then. Further, according to our own view, the first of these two edicts embodies the dying speech of Aśōka, and they were framed some twenty years after the Council and the sending out of the missions; while, according to another view, these two edicts were framed in the thirteenth year of Aśōka, four or five years before the Council, and were probably the very first of his proclamations. From either point of view these edicts have no connexion with either the Council or the sending out of the missions; except that we believe that Isila was selected as one of the places to which the last words of Aśōka should be communicated, because a Buddhist settlement had been established there as a result of one or another of the missions sent into the territory on the south of the Narbada.

[1] See the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. x, p. 291, and compare Mr. Rice's *Mysore* (1897), vol. ii, pp. 500-4.

[2] *JRAS* (1909), p. 997.

In looking into this belief that the Mahishamaṇḍala of the Buddhist books is Mysore or some part thereof, the first points that suggest themselves for consideration are: to what date can we carry back the existence of the name Maisuru, Maisur (the original of the anglicized Mysore), in its present or any previous form? And what can be the connexion, if there is any, between that name and Mahishamaṇḍala or any such appellation?

An inscription at Nandigunda in the Nanjangud taluka of the Mysore district,[1] dated in A.D. 1021, mentions a territorial division named the 'Maysun-nād', and places in it Nandigunda itself, which is about twelve miles south-east from the city of Mysore. And the spurious record on the Tanjore plates,[2] which purports to have been framed in A.D. 248 but was fabricated not earlier than the tenth century, claims to convey a village, situated in the 'Maisunadu seventy,' named Orekodu, which is shown by the full details given in the record to be the 'Wurcode' of the Indian Atlas sheet, No. 60 (1828), and the 'Varkod' of the quartersheet, No. 60, S.W. (1892), about seven miles east-by-south from Mysore. These two records locate the territorial division thus mentioned. The second of them marks it as a group of seventy villages. As we know that any such group usually included a leading town or village bearing the same name with the group itself, and as the Kanarese word for 'village, town', is ur, uru, we may venture to assume that the two names thus presented are carelessly written forms of Maysur-nad and Maisur-nad; especially because in this group of seventy villages we certainly have the original of the present Mysore taluka, one of the subdivisions of the Mysore district,[3] and because an inscription, which is attributed to about A.D. 990, at Kuppehalu in the Kadur district,[4] appears to mention, among the witnesses to the grant registered by it, 'the (officials of the) Maysur-nad seventy,' with reference to probably the same group of villages. And we may thus carry back the existence of the name Mysore in the form Maysur, and of the city Mysore as a village bearing its present name, to the tenth century. But that is all that we can do.[5] And it is sufficiently obvious that the place

[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. iii (Mysore), No. 134. The text in Roman characters gives to the name which I quote the form 'Mayasun-nād'; the translation gives 'Maysur-nād'; and the text in Kanarese characters gives 'Maysur-nād'. As the Kanarese texts are the bases of what is published in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, I adopt the last form.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. viii, p. 212; and see my list of spurious records in ibid. 30 (1901), p. 215, No. 10. Spurious records, though mostly valueless for chronological purposes, are frequently of considerable use from the geographical and other miscellaneous points of view.

[3] That the Mysore taluka now includes one hundred and fifty towns and villages, is of course immaterial. The numbers in the territorial divisions of India have been altered and are still altered from time to time for improved administrative purposes as well as because of new villages growing up, and old ones becoming deserted.

[4] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. vi (Kadur), Kd 9.

[5] Pending the issue of a proper index to the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, it is not practical to use them exhaustively. But the above mentioned three records give the only references that I have been able to find for the Maysur or Maisur seventy, and the earliest instances of the

was then nothing but a small one, which had not given its name to even the area which makes up the present Mysore district, and was quite incapable of providing an appellation for the entire territory in which it was situated. This position is borne out by every other consideration even apart from the point that no remains or other tokens of antiquity are found there, which indicates plainly that we have not even the case of an ancient city sinking into insignificance and then rising again.[1]

The territory now known as Mysore, and the district now known as the Mysore district, owe their appellations simply to the accident that the village Mysore has developed into a modern capital. The Mysore territory is composed of provinces and districts which in ancient times had their own quite different names. In the north it includes part of a province known as the Nolambavadi 32,000, and part of the Vanavasi kingdom generally known in later times as the Banavase 12,000. The rest of it consists mostly of districts and provinces, such as the Kuvalala 300, the Edetore 1,000, the Punad or Punnad 6,000, the Ganga 6,000, and the Kongalnad 8,000, which were massed under one name as the Gangavadi 96,000 meaning 'the territory of the Gangas comprising (according to tradition or conventional acceptation) 96,000 cities, towns and villages.'[2] The city Mysore is situated in the southern part of the ancient Gangavadi country, the connected authentic history of which, as established by the inscriptions, dates from closely about A. D. 750, when there arose a Ganga prince, Sivamara I, whose descendants ruled till about A. D. 1000.[3] The first mention of the 96,000 province is found in the inscription of the first year of the rule of Sripurusha-Muttarasa, son of Sivamara I,[4] which speaks off 'all the subjects of the 96,000', apparently as witnesses to the act recorded in it. The earliest known instance of the use of the full appellation 'Gangavadi 96,000' seems to be found in an inscription of

existence of the name; and Mr. Rice himself does not claim to have done more; see, e.g. his *Mysore* (1897), vol. ii, p. 280: 'We find Maisunad or Maisur-nād mentioned in inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.'

A group of villages known as the Mayse-nād appears to be mentioned in an inscription of A. D. 1136 and in another which is referred to about A. D. 1200; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. v (Hassan), Bl. 17; Hn. 139. And the same seems to be mentioned as the Maise-nad in inscriptions of A. D. 1117 and 1174; ibid. Bl. 58, 59, 71. But that is marked by the records as a different group, close to Belur in the Belur taluka of the Hassan district.

[1] Compare Mr. Rice's remarks in *Mysore* (1897), vol. ii, pp. 280-281: 'The present town of Mysore cannot perhaps boast of much antiquity. . . . Here a fort was either constructed or repaired in the year 1524.'

[2] Nothing could be clearer than the proof that this is the meaning of these numerical designations; yet Mr. Rice in his recent publication has repeated prominently an *old mistake* in asserting (p. 174) that the *numbers denote the revenue values*; and the mistake has found its way, from his previous writings, into *the Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. x, p. 291, note 2. I shall hope to give a separate note on this matter.

[3] There were, indeed, Gangas in Mysore before A. D. 750, in the sixth and perhaps even the fifth century. But no authentic details are known about them.

[4] At Talakad, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. iii (Mysore), Tn. 1.

Ereyappa, of the period about A. D. 908 to 938,[1] which describes that prince as 'governing the Gangavadi 96,000 as a united whole (lit., in the shade of one umbrella).' And it remained in use, even when the Gangas had passed away, until at least A. D. 1200. For the Ganga period, the only recognizable capitals are, as Mr. Rice has told us,[2] Kolar and Talakad. And during that period, and for six centuries after it, no mention of the name Mysore in any form, and no allusion to the place can be found, except as stated above.

After the period marked by the Nandigunda and Kuppehalu inscriptions and the record on the Tanjore plates, the town Mysore commences to figure only in connexion with its present rulers, who trace their line back to a certain Hire-Bettada-Chamaraja to whom the date of A. D. 1513–52 is assigned.[3] Their ancestors first came to the front in the person of Raja-Wodeyar, who in A. D. 1610 overcame the Vijayanagara viceroy, and established himself at Seringapatam. They appear to have been members of a local family residing at Mysore. And the inscriptions describe them in the simplest terms as belonging to the Atreya gotra, the Asvalayana sutra, and the Rigveda sakha.[4] But, as they rose to increased prominence, they required, like other great families of southern India, a Puranic pedigree connecting them with either the Solar or the Lunar race. The latter was chosen. And the account devised for them[5] says that some members of the line of Yadu in the Lunar race went from Dvaraka (in Kathiawad) to the Karnata country to visit their family-god Narayana at Yadugiri, Melukote in the Seringapatam taluka, Mysore district, about twenty-five miles north of Mysore; and, seeing the land to be a beauteous one, they settled at Mysore, protecting the people, and doing service to the goddess who guarded the city and whom they adopted as their own deity. In their line there seems to have been born a Chamaraja; then a son of him, also named Chamaraja; and then his son, the Hire-Bettada-Chamaraja mentioned above. He, it is said, had three sons, amongst whom he divided his principality while he was still alive. Two of them died without male issue. And so the whole went to the remaining son, Bol-Chamaraja, to whom he had given Mysore itself. The family thus commenced ruling at Mysore. As has been said above, in A.D. 1610 Raja-Wodeyar made a step in advance, and established himself

[1] At Begur, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. ix (Bangalore), Bn. 83; previously edited by me in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vi, p. 48. The Madinala inscription, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. x (Kolar), Kl. 79, is probably also of the time of Ereyappa; if, however, it might really be referred to Ranavikrama then the full expression is carried back to about A. D. 810 to 840.

[2] *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 29.

[3] See the table in Mr. RICE'S *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 126.

[4] See, e. g. a copper-plate record of A. D. 1614 from Melukote, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. iii (Mysore), Sr. 157.

[5] See, e. g. records of A. D. 1647 at Mattigodu, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. v (Hassan), Ag. 64; of 1662 at Halagere, vol. xii (Tumkur), Kg. 37 of 1675 at Chamarajnagar, vol. iv (Mysore), Ch. 92; and of 1686 at Seringapatam, vol. iii (Mysore), Sr. 14 and compare Mr. Rice's book, p. 124 ff.

at Seringapatam. From 1760 to 1799 the family was under the domination of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan. Then, on the defeat and death of the last mentioned, the British Government placed Mummadi-Krishnaraja-Wodeyar on the throne, and the court was removed back to Mysore, which has continued to be the dynastic capital.

The name Mysore figures freely enough in the epigraphic records of this period; especially in the standing expression 'so and so of Mysore', with reference to the place of origin, which was used even when Seringapatam was the capital: for instance, Maisura Chamaraja-Vodeyaru in a record of A. D. 1633,[1] and Mahisura Krishnaraja-Vodeyar-Avaru in one of 1717.[2] In Kanarese prose passages it is found in the various forms of Mahiśūr or Mahīśhūr (A.D. 1614), Mayisur (1625), Maisur (1633), and Mahisapura (1672).[3] In Sanskrit verses it is found as Mahishapur (A. D. 1639), Mahishi and Mahishipuravara (1647), Mahishanagara (1662), Mahisura (1663), Mahishapuri (1666), Mahishapura (1675), and Mahīśurapura (1679), but we do not trace any use of the name Mahishmati, to which we shall come farther on. And the goddess, whose shrine appears to be on the Chamundibetta hill close on the south-east of the city of Mysore, is mentioned as Mahishasuramardini in a record of A.D. 1639,[4] and Mahishasuramardini-Bettada-Chamundesvari-Amma in one of A. D. 1673:[5] she is to be regarded as a local form of Chanda, Chamunda, Durga, as the destroyer of the buffalo-headed demon Mahishasura.[6] We note the occurrence of the expression Mahisura samsthana, 'the Mysore State', in an inscription of A.D. 1852,[7] and perhaps of Maisura samsthana in one of A. D. 1672-73.[8] But we do not find any indication of the name Mysore in any form, Kanarese or Sanskrit, having been used to denote either the whole territory or even that portion of it which is now the Mysore district, the application of the name in this way seems to be of purely modern and official origin.

In view of all the facts set out above, it must be clear that any such appellation as Mahishamandala to denote the Mysore territory or even the

1 At Talakad, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. iii (Mysore), Tn. 13.

2 At Beluru, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. v (Hassan), Bl. 29.

3 I can, of course, only quote the forms as they are given in the texts in Roman and Kanarese characters in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*; and the readings do not always match each other. I have preferred, as a rule, to follow the Kanarese texts, because they are the bases of the others. For the reason stated in a previous note (the absence of a proper index), I cannot guarantee that I have exhausted all the forms; I give only each form, and the earliest instance of it, that I have detected.

4 At Gajjiganahalli, *Epigraphia Carnnatica*, vol. iii (Mysore), Nj. 198.

5 At Birasandra, *Epigrapia Carnatica*, vol. xii (Tumkur), Tp. 106.

6 The inscriptions do not seem to show how Yadavas who had come into Mysore to visit their family-god Narayana became Saivas with Durga as their tutelary deity; and the 'tradition' reported by Mr. Rice (his latest book, p. 125) does not furnish any clear explanation.

7 At Belagodu, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. v (Hassan), Mj. 40.

8 At Manchanahalli, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. iii (Mysore), Ml. 69.

country round the city Mysore itself—assuming that such a term has ever been used at all in that sense, of which there is no evidence—could only have come into existence after A.D. 1600, when the occasion arose, in devising the Pûranic genealogy, to Sanskritize the vernacular name, of a place rising to importance, which presented a certain adaptability.[1] But we can hardly avoid noticing, before we go farther, two observations attached by Mr. Rice to his assertion that the Mahishamaṇḍala of the Buddhist books is the country round the city Mysore.

He has said in the first place:[2] 'Mysore, properly Maisuru, derives its name from "mahisha" Sanskrit for buffalo, reduced in Prakrit to "mahisa" and in Kannada to "maisa" and "uru," Kannada for town or country.' On the last point we must observe that the Kanarese *ur, uru*, does certainly mean 'village, town,' but never 'country.'[3] For the rest, does the word 'maisa' really exist in Kanarese? It may perhaps be assumed to exist, because Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary, though not giving it, does give 'maisi,' from the Sabdamanidarpana (thirteenth century) as the tadbhava-corruption of the feminine 'mahishi'. But no instance is adduced of the actual use of even 'maisi', and the facts set out above make it plain that the Sanskritized forms of the name Mysore were based on the form Maisur, instead of the reverse being the case. We do not believe that the name even means 'buffalo-village'; the Kanarese people have their own words, 'kōna', 'a male buffalo,' and 'emme', 'a female buffalo' and would naturally have used one or other of them to form any place-name connected with the idea of 'buffalo' and would have given us Kōnanur or Emmeyur. We may suggest that the name may just possibly be connected with the Kanarese *me, mey, meyu*, 'to graze' *meyisu*, 'to cause to graze'. But we do not put forward even that with any confidence. We prefer to take this name, just as we have to take so many others, as one for which no certain origin can now be found.

Mr. Rice has further said (loc. cit.): 'Mahishamaṇḍala appears in the Tamil form Erumai-nadu in Mamulanar's *Agananuru*, which is of the second century.' Here, several points arise. In the first place, it does not seem correct to ascribe the Agananuru to Mamulanar, and to assign it to the second century; we are told elsewhere that the *Agananuru* is an anthology on erotic subjects, consisting of stanzas composed by about a hundred and

[1] The suggestion (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. iv, p. 58, note 2) that Mysore is mentioned as Mahisha-vishaya in the Inscription A of A.D. 945, at Salotgi in the Indi taluka, Bijapur district, cannot be accepted. This 'Mahisha district' is certainly to be located somewhere not very far from Salotgi; and the village Kanchana-Muduvol or Kanchina-Muduvolal, which the record places in it, is perhaps the modern 'Kanchinal' in the Indi taluka.

[2] *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (1909), p. 14, note 1. From an earlier writing by him this derivation is given in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. xviii, p. 161.

[3] Mr. Rice seems to have been thinking of the Sanskrit *uru*, 'wide, broad,' whence we have *urvi*, 'the earth.'

sixty poets (of whom Mamulanar is one), and that it was compiled by Uruttirasanman under the auspices of a Pandya king named Ugrapperuvaludi;[1] and an indication has been given to us that it cannot be placed before the close of the eighth century. Secondly, in view of the inference which is plainly intended, we should like to know exactly what Mamulanar has said about the Erumai-nadu, and why his 'buffalo-district' is supposed to be Mysore; but the vague reference that is given hardly helps us to find the passage. Thirdly, if the name Erumai-nadu ever existed as an established name of Mysore, it is strange that it is not found so used in any of the Tamil historical poems published in the *Indian Antiquary*; nor in any of the numerous Tamil inscriptions which exist in Mysore and have been published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*; nor in any of the Tamil inscriptions from other parts which mention the Chola conquest of Mysore; the term used in the latter is always Gangapade=Gangavadi. But we may be sure of one or other of two things. Either Mamulanar's Erumai-nadu is to be located somewhere in the Madras Presidency, where erumai is a not infrequent first component of place-names in the Coimbatore, Madura, Tinnevelly, Tanjore, Salem, North Arcot, and Chingleput districts.[2] Or else, in view of the particular nature of the *Agananuru*, it denotes the territory with which we shall now proceed to identify the country in which we are interested.

The Mahishamaṇḍala to which Moggaliputta-Tissa sent one of his Buddhist missions is distinctly not the modern Mysore territory or any part thereof. As our first step to its real identification, we take the first component of its name as denoting, not the idea of 'buffalo', but a people whose name is found in the various forms of Mahisha,[3] Mahishaka,[4] Māhishaka[5] and Mahishika.[6] The passage in the Bhishmaparvam of the *Mahabharata* classes the Mahishakas as janapada dakshinah; and the *Markandeya-Purana* calls them dakshinapatha-vasinah; this means that they dwelt anywhere on the south of either the Vindhya Range or the river Narbada, whichever is taken as the dividing line between northern and southern India; it does not mean that we must look for them in the extreme south. And we may note here that the *Vishnu-Purana*, in its account of the various hells and the people who go to them, mentions, amongst those who are doomed to the

[1] See M. Seshagiri Sastri's Report on a Search for Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts for the year 1893–4, No. 2, p. 131.

[2] The Village Postal Directory of the Madras Circle (1893) shows, under *e* and *y*, eighteen such names, and is suggestive of there being also others, not correctly spelt there. And, judged by maps, this compilation is not exhaustive.

[3] *Brihat-Samhita*, pp. 9, 10; *Harivamsa*, p. 782.

[4] *Brihat-Samhita*, pp. 17, 26.

[5] *Mahabharata*, e.g. 6 (Bhishma), para. 9, pp. 366; *Vishnu-Purana*, Book IV, Chapter 24 [Bombay Text (1866), p. 42-*a*]; *Markandeya-Purana* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), Chapter 57, verse 46.

[6] *Matsya-Purana* (Calcutta, 1876), Chap. 113, verse, 47; text in the Anandasrama series, Chapter 114, verse 47.

Rudhirandha, certain persons to whom it applies the term Mahishika; here the commentary explains that a wife who dispenses her favours at random is termed Mahishi, 'a female buffalo', and a husband who condones such conduct is styled Mahishika.[1]

We will not venture to decide whether the Mahishas, Mahishakas, Māhishakas, Mahishikas, derived their name from being special breeders of buffaloes, or from a laxity of morals which led them to connive at free-love on the part of their wives. But, taking the word as the name of a people, we locate the Mahishamaṇḍala, 'the territory of the Mahishas', by recognizing as its captial a city Mahishmati, which was of considerable antiquity and repute.[2]

This city is mentioned by Patanjali in his comments on Varttikas 10 and 15 under Panini, 3–1–26 where he introduces it in illustrating a use of the causal to indicate something remarkable: 'Setting out from Ujjayini, he makes sunrise (sees the sun rise) at Mahishmati'; he thus indicates that the distance between the two places was appreciable, but could, as a special feat, be covered between sunset and sunrise. It is mentioned as Mahissati in inscriptions at Sanchi, in which visitors to the Stupas are described (in somewhat misspelt terms) as coming from Mahisatī, Mahasati, Māhisatī.[3] And it was still flourishing in the thirteenth century; the inscription on the Mandhata plates of the Paramara King Devapala[4] tells us that in A.D. 1225, when he made the grant recorded in it, he was staying at Mahishmati, and (we may add) that he made the grant after bathing in the Narbada.

Some references to this city in the *Mahabharata* are as follows: In 2 (Sabha) 30, 1124 to 1163, we are told that the Pandava Prince Sahadeva, in the course of his tour to subjugate the countries of the south (dakshinā) for Yudhishthira, went to Mahishmati, and there fought and conquered king Nila; and a story is introduced (1130 to 1143) narrating how the god Agni had conferred on the women of the city the boon of being allowed to behave just as they might like.[5] In 13 (Anusasana) 2, 89, Dasasva, one of the 100 sons of Ikshvaku, son of Manu, is mentioned as a king of Mahishmati. And in the same book, 152, 7187, we are told that the thousand-armed Kartavirya, the Haihaya, reigned over the whole earth at Mahishmati.[6]

[1] *Vishnu-Purana*, Book II, Chapter 6 [Bombay Text (1866), p. 14B].

[2] From *Mahisha* we have *Mahishmat*, 'possessing buffaloes.' The name Mahishmati is explained by the St. Petersburg Dictionary as being the feminine of *Mahishmata* from Mahishmat. There are indications that in some of the passages presenting the name Mahishaka, etc., there are various readings which give *shm* instead of *sh* in the third syllable.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 109, No. 111; 389f, Nos. 313, 314, 317.

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ix, p. 108.

[5] Compare the explanation, mentioned above, of the term *Mahishika* as used in the *Vishnu Purana*.

[6] In accordance with this, certain princes in Southern India, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, who claimed to be of Haihaya extraction, used the title 'Lord of Mahishmati, the best of

The city is also mentioned in the Harivamsa. We are there told in one place (1846 to 1847) that it was founded by king Mahishmat, the heir (dayada) of Sahanja who was descended from Yadu through Haihaya ;[1] but in another passage that the founder of it was king Muchukunda. This last-mentioned person is there treated as a son of Yadu ; but elsewhere in the same work (711–14, 6464) he is mentioned as a son of Mandhatri.[2]

Regarding the identity of this city Mahishmati there have been for a long time two views.[3] One is that it is Mysore. This had its origin in a conjecture put forward by Wilson in 1822 in the 'Calcutta, Annual Register'.[4] It has been asserted recently by Mr. Rice.[5] So also the *Imperial Gazetteer* says (18. 261) that Mysore appears as Mahishmati in the *Mahabharata*. We need say no more about that, beyond making one brief remark. The *Mahabharata* tells us that Sahadeva subjugated, next after Nila of Mahishmati, the king of Tripura. This place, as is well known, is Tewar, in the Jabalpur district. And the statement about Tripura should have been sufficient, for many years past, to prevent any repetition of the idea that Mahishmati is Mysore.

The more general view has identified Mahishmati with a town named Maheshwar, on the north bank of the Narbada, in the Nimar zillah of the Indore State, which is shown as 'Mahesar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 37, N.-E. (1892), in lat. 22·10, long. 75·38. This identification was stated—apparently as an already accepted point—by Wilford in 1807.[6] And it has been last repeated in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.[7] The residents themselves seem to believe that Maheshwar is Mahishmati ; since we gather from the *Imperial Gazetteer* that they recognize the Mahishmati-Mahatmya as their local purana. And, though the names do not match—Maheshwar being plainly Mahesvara, and having no connexion with Mahisha—support for the view has been found in a passage in the Suttanipāta which tells us that, when the disciples of Bavari, the hermit dwelling on the bank of the Godhaveri (sic) in the neighbourhood of Alaka in the territory of Assaka

towns,' to indicate their place of origin; see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part 2, pp. 439 and note 2, 450, 451, 457, 523 ; also *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 4, p. 86.

[1] On the descent compare *Vishnu Purana*, Translation, vol. iv, p. 53f.

[2] So also in the *Vishnu-Purana*, Translation, vol. iii, p. 268.

[3] There has also been a *third view*, which, however, we need not consider; namely, that *Mahishmati* is *Mandla*, the head-quarter town of the *Mandla District, Central Provinces ;* see SLEEMAN in *JASB* vol. vi (1837), p. 622, and CUNNINGHAM in *Ancient Geography*, p. 488.

[4] See *Vishnu-Purana*, Translation, vol. ii, p. 166, note 8.

[5] See, e.g. his *Mysore* (1897), vol. i, p. 280; vol. ii, p. 280. He has said that Sahadeva crossed the Kaveri to reach Mahishmati. I do not find any mention of a Kaveri in connexion with Mahishmati in the Calcutta Text of the epic. But, in case such a statement is really made anywhere else, it may be noted that the Indian Atlas shows a 'Cavery River flowing into the Narbada from the south about a mile above the place which really is Mahishmati.

[6] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix, p. 105.

[7] Vol. xvii, p. 9 ; vol. xxi, p. 118.

(verse 997), journeyed to the north to look for Buddha, they went (verse 1011) to Patitthana on the east of Alaka, then to Mahissati, and then to Ujjeni, Gonaddha, Vedisa, Vana-Kosambi, Saketa, Sāvatthi, and so on.[1] This places Mahishmati between Paithan, which is the ancient Pratishthana, on the Godaveri, and Ujjain. And Maheshwar answers well enough to such a location; it is closely about 185 miles north of Paithan and seventy miles south of Ujjain, and is almost on the straight line between the two places. It has, however, been lately shown that this identification is not the correct one.

Mr. Pargiter has drawn attention to two instructive statements about Mahishmati.[2] One is in the Raghuvamsa, in the account of the svayamvara of Indumati. When the chief portress, who introduces the various suitors, comes to Pratipa, king of Anupa, a descendant of the thousand-armed Kartavirya, she says (6. 43):—'Be thou the Lakshmi on the lap of this long-armed (*king*), if thou dost wish to see through the windows of (*his*) palace the Reva (Narbada), charming with rippling waters, which is a girdle round the hip-like ramparts of (*his city*) Mahishmati.' As Mr. Pargiter has observed, this distinctly locates Mahishmati, not on the Narbada, but in the middle of it; that is, on an island in it. The other statement is in the Harivamsa, in the passage (5218–27) which narrates the founding of the city by Muchukunda. His father had expressed the desire (5211) that he should found two cities against the mountains Vindhya and Rikshavat, in the shelter of the hills. Accordingly, he first made a settlement on the bank of the Narbada, at a place full of rough rocks, which he cleared and adorned with a bridge, moats, temples, streets and groves; and he then made

[1] Verse 1011 ends with *Vana-savhayam;* and verse 1012 begins with *Kosambim ch=āpi.* The translation (by Fausboll, *S.B.E.*, vol. x, part 2, p. 180) says: '. . . Vadisa, Vanasavhaya, and also to Kosambi, Saketa, . . .' *Vana-savhaya* means 'having the appellation *Vana*'. It might, of course be taken as denoting some place bearing any such name as Vanapura, Vananagara, or even Vanavasa; and the division of the verses may be adduced in support of that. But the whole passage is little more than prose, with the addition here and there of suitable words to make it scan. And I venture to take it as speaking of 'Kosambi which had the appellation of Vana, that is, "Kausambi in the forest" on the strength of the *gana* attached to Panini, 4-2-97 which gives the name Vana-Kausambi; it may be mentioned that the Nava-Kausambi of the Benares Text of the Kasika, second edition, is a mistake; all the other versions have *Vana*. The *gana* presents, in fact, two names; Kausambi and Vana-Kausambi. But we seem to be justified in taking them as denoting one and the same place by what Hiuen-tsiang says: after his description of Prayaga, he continues (Beal, Life, 90, and compare *Si-Yu-Ki*, 1.234):—'From this, in "a south-west direction, we enter a great forest, in which we frequently encounter evil beasts and wild elephants. After going 500 *li* or so, we arrive at Kiau-shang-mi". Also, the Antagadadasas mentions Kosambakanana, "the Kosamba Forest" (translation by Barnett, p. 81), though it may not place it in the same locality.'

At the beginning of the passage in the Suttanipata, the words are: Alakassa Patitthanam purimam. Here, also, I venture to differ from Fausboll, who translated: 'To Patitthana of Alaka first, then to Mahissati. . . .'

[2] See his translation of the *Markundeya-Purana*, p. 333, note ‡ (issued in 1896), and introduction, p. 9 (1905).

Mahishmati, at the feet of the two mountains Vindhya and Rikshavat, and also a second city, Purika, on the bank towards the Rikshavat.

Mr. Pargiter has pointed out that this latter passage marks a locality on the Narbada where the Vindhya and Satpura (Satpuda) ranges contract the valley, and come close to the river; that Maheshwar does not satisfy the conditions of either of the two statements[1]; and that the place which does satisfy them is the rocky island and village of Mandhata, now sacred to Siva, and containing a famous shrine of him as Omkaranatha, about thirty-five to forty miles higher up the river. And he has accordingly located Mahishmati there; a conclusion which we heartily endorse.

This island-village of Mandhata, belonging to the Khandwa tahsil of the Nimar district, Central Provinces, is shown in the Indian Atlas Sheet No. 53, SW. (1891), as 'Mandhatha', with also the name 'Unkarnath' attached in more conspicuous type, in lat. 22°15′ long. 76°12′, six miles east of 'Barwai', and seven miles east-north-east of 'Mortakka', stations on the Malwa section of the Rajputana-Malwa railway. And the map shows clearly how spurs of the Vindhya and Satpura ranges come close up to it. In addition to satisfying the conditions of the Raghuvamsa and the Harivamsa, it answers just as well as does Maheshwar to the statement in the Suttanipata; being only about thirty miles to the east from the straight line between Paithan and Ujjain, at a distance of closely about 195 miles from the former place and seventy miles from the latter. It answers to Patanjali's indication that the distance between Ujjain and Mahishmati, though appreciable, could be covered, as a special feat, in one night. It is distinctly referable to Southern India, whether we take the Vindhya mountains or the Narbada as the dividing-line between the north and the south. Its present name is well accounted for by the mention of Mandhatri as the father of Muchukunda in one of the versions of the parentage of the latter. And we may locate Purika, the second city attributed to Muchukunda, on an open area, on the south of the island, where the map shows villages named 'Godurpoora, Bainpoora, Bamunpoora, and Dhooka,'[2] and may probably place Muchukunda's preliminary settlement (on the north bank) on the east of the island, where the map shows two villages and 'Jain temples.' It may be added that the *Imperial Gazetteer* tells us (17. 152) that the village of Mandhata stands partly on the island, partly on the south bank of the river, and—a detail in which the place still answers to the words of Kalidasa—that on the island it includes rows of houses, shops, and temples, with 'the Rao's palace conspicuous above the rest,' standing on terraces scarped out of a hill: also, that 'upon the summit of the hill are signs of a once flourishing settlement, in the shape of ruined fortifications and temples.'

[1] There is no inhabited island there; and the hills do not close in on the river. Moreover, the place does not seem to have any remains suggestive of antiquity. *JBAS* (1910).

[2] A town Purika is mentioned in some of the inscriptions at Bharaut: *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxi, p. 234, No. 83; p. 236, Nos. 117–9.

In short, then, we locate the Mahishamaṇḍala, 'the territory of the Mahishas', to which the Moggaliputta-Tissa sent one of his Buddhist missions in the time of Asoka, by recognizing it as the country of which the capital was Mahishmati. We agree with Mr. Pargiter in placing Mahishmati on the island in the Narbada which is now known as Mandhata. And we thus find in the Mahishamaṇḍala a border-land of the Buddhist Middle Country.

Looking to the general features of the country as shown in the Atlas sheets, we may probably take it that the territory belonging to Mahishmati lay on both sides of the Narbada, and extended on the west far enough to include Maheshwar; in short, that it consisted of the present Nimar zillah of Indore with part of the Nimar district of the Central Provinces. This would help to account for any transfer of the name and traditions of Mahishmati, along with the Mahishmati-Mahatmya, to Maheshwar; a transfer which, if established, may be instructive in some other cases. It would also help to explain the mention of Mahishmati as a city of the Avantis, the people of Ujjain, in the *Digha-Nikaya* (see this Journal, 1907. 653): it may easily be the case that the Ujjain territory was sometimes bounded on the south by the Vindhya range, but sometimes reached as far as the Narbada.

MAHISHAMAṆḌALA

Reply by L. Rice, Esq., C.I.E.

Mahishamaṇḍala is associated with Mahishmati in a recent article (1910, p. 425) on the assumption that the latter was the capital of the former. After rejecting a long-standing identification of Mahishmati with Mahesvara or Maheshwar on the Narbada, it is proposed to identify Mahishmati with Mandhata, higher up on the Narbada. Whether or not this be so, no connexion, it would seem, necessarily exists between the two places save the similarity in the first component of their names.

Mahisamaṇḍala or Mahishamaṇḍala (with slightly variant forms as noted in the article) was beyond dispute one of the nine countries to which Buddhist missions were sent in the third century B. C., in the time of Aśōka. And it may be remarked that they were all countries, and in no case only cities. Mahisamaṇḍala occupies the second place in the list, followed by Vanavasa or Vanavasi. That the countries were all strictly border-lands, contiguous to the Buddhist Middle-land, cannot be upheld in the face of one being Lankadipa or Ceylon and another Suvarnnabhumi, which has been taken, whether rightly or wrongly, to mean Burma, or rather Pegu. We are therefore not restricted to the location of all the countries in that manner. The only requirement is that they should be Indian and beyond the borders of the Maurya empire. With regard to Vanavasi, which appears as the

next neighbour to Mahisamaṇḍala, though the order does not seem to count for much in the list, the name is so distinctive and so well attested from early times that there is no difficulty in assigning it to the well-known Banavasi on the north-west of the Mysore country. It is true that Banavasi is called in some records Jayanti or Vijayanti, but these seem to be only Brahmanical names of the city, and are not, I believe, anywhere applied to the province.

There remains, then, the question as to Mahisamaṇḍala, which has commonly been understood as meaning the Mysore country; not, of course, the existing Mysore State, but the tract or territory of which Mysore (Maisur, Mahishur) was then the principal town. In support of this allocation of Mahishamandala we have references in the earliest Tamil literature to Erumai-nadu, the equivalent in Tamil of Mahishamaṇḍala, and to Erumaiyuran, the chief or king of Erumaiyur and Erumai-nadu.

Thus, Mamulanar, who is assigned to the period 100–30 A. D. among countries visited by him mentions[1] Erumai-nadu, which he describes as being to the west, that is, of the Tamil country. Nakkirar, a contemporary of his, tells[2] of a war of the Pandyan king Nedunjeliyan (reigned 90-128) against a league of seven kings, of whom one was the Erumaiyuran or king of Erumaiyur. And he is said to be of Vaduga descent, a reference to the Badagas or 'northerners' of the Nilgiris,[3] who speak Kannada (Kanarese), the language of Mysore, or a dialect of it which has been called Badaga. Ilanko-adikal, of the same period, who became a Nirgrantha or Jaina monk, says, in his *Silappadikaram* of the same period, that Sengattuvan, a Chera king, on his journey northwards halted in the Nilgiris and witnessed with pleasure the dance of the Kannadas (Kannadigas or people of Mysore). Again, amongst those who fought against Nedunjeliyan along with Erumaiyuran is mentioned Adigaman of Tagadur (said to be Dharmapuri in the Salem district). This seems to be a title corresponding with that of Adiyama which we meet with in connexion with Talakad in early Hoysala inscriptions. It appears that, in the tenth century, in the time of the Chola king Rajaraja, Tagadur was included in Gangavadi and was given as a jagir to Panchavan Brahmadiraja.[4] The donor's father is said to be a native of Ariyur in Puramalai-nadu who had the title Erumaiyanalgamundan, or Gamunda of Erumaiya-nadu. Puramalai-nadu was a district bordering on Mysore, though not actually included in it.

These references serve to show that Mahisamaṇḍala, according to ancient Tamil records of the second century, may be placed in the southern part of the

[1] *Agananuru*, 115, 252. This paper has been delayed in order to obtain from India the references to these authorities, which exist only in manuscript. The original poems seem to be lost, but numerous extracts are found in this anthology.

[2] Id., pp. 36, 253.

[3] Badagas hardly occur away from the Nilgiri plateau (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xix, 92).

[4] Madras No. 204 of 1909 (Report for 1910, p. 88). There is also a Tagadur in the Nanjangud taluq of Mysore, described as *hiriya-nadu* and *anadi-maha-nadu*.

present Mysore country. The presentation of the name in the familiar form it had in their own language is not a ground for objection, as it is in accordance with Tamil usage and more suitable to poetry in the vernacular. That a similar form was in use in the country itself may be seen from the mention in an inscription near Seringapatam of the Emmeyarakula.[1]

Additional support of this allocation is found in my discovery of edicts of Aśōka in three places in the north of the present Mysore country. These are clear evidence that in the third century B.C. that part of what is now Mysore territory was included in the Maurya empire. For it is an unheard of proceeding that any state should set up its decrees in a country foreign to it. To this it is objected that these edicts now in Mysore, unlike the similar ones in northern India, are prefaced by a preamble, a greeting addressed by the Aryaputra and Mahamatras of Suvarnnagiri to the Mahamatras of Isila, which indicates that they were being sent to a foreign country. But, as already said, the idea is preposterous that any state should issue and have its edicts engraved on rocks in a country which did not belong to it, still more that it should address itself to local officials and not to the ruling power. The reasonable explanation of this feature is that this southern province of the Maurya empire was not, like the northern one, under the immediate jurisdiction of the Mahamatras of Suvarnnagiri, who therefore, in accordance with official usage, communicated with the officials of equal rank with themselves in the province to which the edicts were transmitted. Moreover, the Mahamatras were a special order of officials created by Aśōka in the Maurya empire, and there is no evidence that the designation was in use elsewhere at that time. On these grounds we may conclude that a portion of the northern part of what is now the Mysore state was included in the Maurya empire, of which Mahisamaṇḍala and Vanavasa or Banavasi were borderlands, and that Mahisamaṇḍala was situated in the southern part of the present Mysore country.

It may further be pointed out that a record exists in a stone inscription that Kuntala, an extensive province which included the north of the present Mysore country, was once ruled by the Nandas, the predecessors of the Mauryas; while another traces the origin of the Kadambas to Nanda.[2] And it is a question whether we have not some evidence of Nanda rule, though not very decided, in certain coins recently found near Chitaldroog.[3] Some of these bear the legends *Rano Muda Namdasa* and *Rano Chutukadu Namdasa*, and similar coins have been found at Karwar in North Kanara. Of course, the mere existence of such coins at these spots does not prove that the country belonged to the Nandas, any more than the antique Chinese brass coin found with them at the former place shows that it belonged to China,

[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. iii, Sr. 138.
[2] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. vii, Sk. 225, 236.
[3] *Mysore Archæological Report*, 1909, 1910.

or the Roman silver coin of Augustus shows that it belonged to Rome. But we have the testimony of the Satakarnni inscriptions at Malavalli and at Banavasi,[1] in which occurs, as one of his titles, *Vinhukadda Chutukula Nanda*. These inscriptions may, it would seem, bear witness to an occupation of the country in which they exist by Nandas, or by kings in some way of Nanda connexion. It must be stated, however, that although even Professor Rapson read the legends on the coins at first in this sense, which had suggested itself to me some time before I knew that he had done so, he has since adopted the reading of the latter part as *kulānanda*, 'joy of the family'.[2] Of course this can be justified. But it may be remarked that in the limited field of a coin only essential terms or titles are likely to be inserted. The expression *ānanda* adds nothing to the meaning and is quite superfluous, whereas the name Nanda would be of historical importance. The former word does not occur in any of the coin legends given in the catalogue. *Chutukulananda* yields an intelligible meaning certainly, but what are we to say to *Mudananda*, unless we adopt a rather forced interpretation? And how are we to account for the omission of *kula* here? Mauryas and Guptas are mentioned as in the Southern Bombay and Northern Mysore districts, the former in the sixth century and the latter in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[3] If so, there is no reason why Nandas should not be met with. And yet another inscription[4] expressly tells us that Nagakhanda, a district corresponding more or less with the present Shikarpur taluq in the north-west of Mysore, was 'protected by the wise Chandragupta'. It is singular too that the kistvaens and similar structures which are generally known in the other parts as Pandu-kolli, or cells of the Pandus, should, in the north of the Mysore country and by the Badagas of the Nilgiris, be called Morya-ramane, houses of the Moryas or Mauryas. These various items, though not all of equal value, can hardly be set aside as having no meaning, and to what do they point but to the occupation of the north of the present Mysore country, not only by the Maurya Government, but perhaps even by the earlier rulers who preceded it?

In the south of the present Mysore country, Mahisamaṇḍala, or the territory, whatever it may have been, to which Maisur or the present city of Mysore gave its name, was probably the most accessible and populous part, occupying a physically well-defined situation between the river Kaveri and the Nilgiris, which form the junction of the Western and Eastern Ghats.

An objection is made that the name Maysur-nad, leaving aside the evidence of the Tanjore plates,[5] which profess to be of the third century, does

[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. vii, Sk. 263; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xiv, p. 333.

[2] *Catalogue of Indian Coins: Andhras, W. Kshatrapas, etc., Introduction*, p. 83. [*JRAS* (1911).]

[3] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. viii, pp. 11, 13; FLEET, *Dynasties of the Kanarese District*, p. 6.

[4] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. viii, Sb. 263.

[5] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. viii, p. 212.

not appear till the tenth century, and that Mysore city itself does not present any remains of antiquity. But there is a Hale Maisur or Halli Maisur a little to the north of the Yedatore taluq which may possibly be a relic of the early period.

And apart from other reasons, the want of old remains in the city can be accounted for by the deliberate demolition of set purpose to which the place was subjected by Tippu Sultan towards the close of the eighteenth century. When the Gangas had established their rule, and fixed the capital at Talakad in the third century, the prominence of Mysore as a centre naturally fell into abeyance, the two places being only twenty-eight miles apart. At the same time the whole dominion of the Gangas, which extended far beyond the original Mahisamaṇḍala, came to be known as the Gangavadi Ninety-six Thousand, a designation which is met with as so thoroughly well established in the eighth century that the latter part sufficed to describe it, as in the case of the seven and a half lakh country and similar terms. When, at the opening of the eleventh century, the Ganga power was overturned by the Cholas from the Tamil country, these gave Chola names to the provinces in the south and the east of the country, which were the only ones they conquered. And although they continued to use the name Gangapadi, the present Mysore district was denominated the Mudikondachola-maṇḍala and the Kolar district the Nikarilichola-maṇḍala. But, notwithstanding this, the Maysur-nad had appeared again, as above stated, in the tenth century, showing that it was not extinct. The remaining parts of the Mysore country, beyond the Chola districts, were at the same time known as the Hoysala-rajya, the capital of which was at Dorasamudra (Halebid, in the Hassan district). After the overthrow of the latter in the fourteenth century, the name Karnata was often applied to the country under Vijayanagar, and Karnatak under Bijapur. But Mysore again came into notice, though for a time Seringapatam, which is only ten miles distant, was more prominent. The disuse of any general name derived from Mysore during the Ganga period from the third to the tenth century was owing to the seats of power being established elsewhere. But that the place had continued in existence, evidence may be gathered from the statement that, when the Kshattriya princes from Kathiawar, who became the progenitors of the present royal family, arrived from the north, they found Mahisha-pura or Mahisura-pura ready to their hands in which to settle.

REMARKS ON MR. RICE'S NOTE

By Dr. J. F. Fleet

There are few people, I think, who would now dispute the points, that Mandhata is the Mahishmati of Patanjali and of the Mahabharata, the Suttanipata, and the Raghuvamsa; that the name Mahishmati marks the

place as the city of people called Mahishas or Māhishas; and that the territory of which it was the capital would be naturally known as Mahisharashtra, Mahishamaṇḍala. For the rest, it is unnecessary to discuss in full arguments which find bases, on which to build up their views about historical matters of the third and fourth centuries B. C., in wrong readings of legends on coins of the third century A.D., and in fanciful statements made in inscriptions ranging as late as from A.D. 1174 to 1342 or 1402 when some of the great families of southern India were still elaborating pedigrees connecting them with the north. I will ask only for space enough to notice two details which can be treated at no great length.

Mr. Rice's belief in a connexion between the Mauryas and Mysore is based ultimately on a wrong reading of the plain unmistakable text of an inscription of the eighth century A.D. at Sravana-Belgola.[1] The record is the synchronous epitaph of a Jain teacher named Prabhachandra, who died at Sravana-Belgola. That part of it which is concerned with his death begins: *Atahacharyyah Prabhachandro nam-avanitala-lalamabhute*; in which he is distinctly mentioned as 'the Acharya by name Prabhachandra'. Mr. Rice, however, would still suggest,[2] on the strength of legends strung together into a complete story in quite modern times, that we should find here the expression *Prabhachandren=am=avani*, 'the Acharya along with (*ama*) Prabhachandra'; that the Acharya is the Srutakevalin Bhadrabāhu I, and Prabhachandra is Chandragupta, the grandfather of Aśōka, though the record contains no allusion of any kind to him; that the inscription commemorates the death of Bhadrabāhu; and that we thus have evidence that Chandragupta went with Bhadrabāhu to Sravana-Belgola, and ended his days in religious retirement there. This needs no further comment.

In support of the claim that the Mysore territory was known in ancient times by some name answering to the Tamil Erumai-nādu and the Sanskrit Mahishamaṇḍala or Pali Mahisamaṇḍala in the sense of 'buffalo-country', Mr. Rice has said (p. 811 above):—'That a similar form was in use in the country itself may be seen from the mention in an inscription near Seringapatam of the Emmeyara-kula'. He has omitted to state the date of this inscription and to give the ordinary reader any means of considering what importance, if any, may attach to its mention of a family called Emmeyara-kula. But with the reference which he furnishes, we find that the inscription is a record, dated in A. D. 1175, which registers the making of a tank at the village Malanahalli, the building of a temple, and a grant of some land to the god thereof, by a village-headman's son who is mentioned as:—Kurukki-

[1] The inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. iii (1874), p. 153. It was re-edited by him in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. ii, Sravana-Belgola (1889), p. 1, and by me in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. iv (1896-7), p. 22. It has been discussed on various occasions, and I have referred to the story in this Journal (1909), p. 23, note.

[2] *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (1909), p. 5ff.

nada Malanahalliya Emmeyara-kolada Chaka-gavundana maga Harada-gavunda. This is translated thus[1]:—'Harada-gavunda, son of Chaka-gavunda, of the Emmeya (buffalo-keeper's) family of Malanahalli in Kurukki-nad'. The authority for altering *kola* into *kula*, 'family', is not apparent. However, whether reference is made to a family or to some place called Emmeyarakola, we may, I suppose, accept the first member of the compound as the genitive of *emmeyaru* in the sense of 'keepers of female buffaloes'. But what possible value, in the direction in which Mr. Rice would apply it, can attach to this mention of buffalo-keepers near Seringapatam in A. D. 1175?

The so-called 'edicts' of Asoka at Brahmagiri and in its neighbourhood are not administrative orders, indicative of sovereignty over the locality in which they are; there is not even anything in them to mark them as emanating from a king: they are simply precepts about morality such as any friendly State would readily allow to be published by any of its subjects interested in them. There is no good reason for thinking that the dominions either of the Mauryas or of the Nandas extended into Southern India; except in so far as that Aśōka conquered the Kalinga country on the eastern coast. The facts adduced by me in my article referred to by Mr. Rice make it certain that the present city of Mysore stands on a site which down to at least the eleventh century was occupied by a mere village incapable of furnishing an appellation for the entire territory in which it lay or even for any appreciable part thereof, and that no such name as Mahisharashtra or Mahishamaṇḍala can have been used to denote the province of Mysore or any portion of it before at least the seventeenth century. And it is tolerably plain that, even if the Erumai-nadu of Mamulanar may be located anywhere outside the Tamil country, it was some small district in or bordering on the extreme south of Mysore, which, again, cannot have furnished an appellation for the whole province or any appreciable part of it. The identification of Mahishamaṇḍala with Mysore has nothing at the bottom of it, except the point that the first part of the vernacular name, Maysur, Maisur, Mayisur, of a village which began to rise to importance about A. D. 1500 and eventually became the name-giver to the province, lent itself naturally in that period to be represented in Sanskrit by *mahisha* as giving the nearest approach to it in sound, and was thought by archæologists of the last century to have been actually derived from that word.

MAHISHAMAṆḌALA

By Mr. L. Rice

Mr. Fleet's remarks [*JRAS*, 1911, p. 816] appended to my paper on this subject call for some notice. The questions to be considered are

[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. iii (Mysore), translations, p. 32.

(1) whether the north of Mysore was included in the Maurya empire, and (2) whether the south of Mysore was Mahishamaṇḍala.

As regards the first, the evidence is indisputable. No mention was made by me of Sravana-Belgola, or of any of its inscriptions. The inclusion of the north of Mysore in the Maurya empire is based on my discovery of edicts of Aśōka engraved on rocks in three places there. This may be held to be proof positive. And the following by Dr. Fleet himself (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. ii, p. 28) testifies to the same. He says: 'A stone record almost invariably establishes the sovereignty or other jurisdiction, at the place itself where it stands, of any king, etc., by whose orders or in whose time it was drawn up.' He seeks, however, to depreciate the evidence in the present case by representing that 'these edicts are not administrative orders indicative of sovereignty over the locality in which they are: there is not even anything in them to mark them as emanating from a king: they are simply precepts about morality such as any friendly State would readily allow to be published by any of its subjects interested in them.' This is not, it will be seen, a correct statement of the facts. The edicts are prefaced by ceremonious greetings to the high officials to whom they are addressed, with all the formality of a royal mandate: the first edict begins with 'The Beloved of the gods (thus) commands (*anapayati*),' and the second with 'The Beloved of the gods says (*aha*).' The injunctions, whatever their nature, are thus the explicit commands of a ruler—the Beloved of the gods, that is, Aśōka—to his subjects. It is quite absurd to suggest that they are merely precepts 'such as any friendly State would readily allow to be published by any of its subjects.' Had any friendly State given such permission it would have been mentioned and acknowledgement made for the concession. This friendly State may be dismissed as a pure invention, and the sensitiveness of even the smallest Oriental powers to any encroachment on their sovereign rights is proverbial. There is, in short, no ground whatever for rejecting the plain matter-of-fact inference that these edicts of Aśōka indicate his sovereignty over the tract of country where they were found.

At the time of their discovery the eminent French *savant* who has identified himself with the edicts of Aśōka publicly remarked: 'cette decouverte fera époque dans l'archéologie indienne.' And it unquestionably lifted the veil that shrouded the ancient history of this part of the south, and revealed a new vista of its past. What object there can be in attempting to deny this and thrusting us back into the darkness of ignorance, it is difficult to understand. One would have thought that such an unmistakable gleam of light would be welcomed.

I would also once again refer to the term Moryara-mane, or houses of the Moryas or Mauryas, applied to the kistvaens, etc., only in the north of Mysore and by the Badagas of the Nilgiris, whereas in the other parts they are called Pandu-kolli, or cells of the Pandus. There is here no question

of royal lines seeking a far-fetched connexion with those in the north. It is simply a name in use among the common people, which must have had its origin in the fact that such structures were erected or used by Mauryas, or during the period of Maurya supremacy in the part where the designation arose, whence it migrated with the Badagas to the Nilgiris.

With regard to the second question, that Mahishamaṇḍala was one of the countries to which Buddhist missions were sent in the time of Aśōka, there is no dispute. And it must have been beyond the borders of the Maurya empire. To locate it in the same quarter as Mahishmati, assuming that the latter was on the Narmada, is out of the question, for that must have been a part of the Maurya dominion. Taken together with Vanavasa or Banavasi, mentioned along with it as also receiving a mission, there is every reason to place it in the south of Mysore. The name suggests it, and the archæologists of the last century in holding that opinion were not far wrong. References were given in my paper to Tamil literature of the second century that warrant us in identifying Mahishamaṇḍala with Erumai-nadu—the equivalent of the name in Tamil—which was situated in the south of Mysore. The name Maysur-nad occurs in a copper-plate inscription of the third century, which if not an original must be a copy. And an instance was cited of the use there in Kannada itself of Emmeyara-kula.[1]

If a reason be required for the country being named from *mahisha* or buffalo, it is not far to seek. For the Todas, the ancient tribe settled on the Nilgiris and acknowledged by all to be lords of the soil, hold sacred the buffalo in an especial manner, all their religious rites being centred upon it. Their language is Old Kanarese, the language of Mysore, and has been likened to Old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind as they call to each other from one breezy hill-top to another. The earliest specific mention of the Todas that has been met with, is in a Mysore inscription, of 1117, but they must have been there for ages before. They have orders of priests consecrated to the service of the buffalo, their temples are dairies where buffalo milk is the holiest offering, and where the bell worn by the buffalo cow is the most sacred symbol. If, on the other hand, the name is supposed to refer to morals, we may adduce the custom of polyandry established among them from the earliest times. On one or both of these grounds the name Mahishamaṇḍala may be accounted for and applied to the south of Mysore.

[1] This was fairly old, and happened to catch the eye, but no special attention has been directed to this matter before. A diligent search might bring to light other and older examples. The word actually used was *kola*, which, as may be seen in the dictionary, is merely a *tadbhava* of *kula*—under *kolaja* for instance. It was quoted in the latter form as being better understood.

[2] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. iv, ch. 83.

REMARKS ON MR. RICE'S NOTE

By Dr. J. F. Fleet

I am not very willing to join in occupying the pages of this Journal with what is nothing but a controversial discussion: so I will simply take Mr. Rice's remarks *seriatim* as briefly as is practicable.

He has quoted me quite correctly as saying that an inscription on stone 'almost invariably' establishes the sovereignty, etc.[1] It does that, not by the mere existence of it at a particular place, but by its contents, when, for instance, it recites the general glory or some special achievement of a king or other ruler, or registers and assignment of state lands or revenues, or some other administrative act, made or performed by him or under his orders. As my words indicate, there are exceptions to the rule owing to the nature of particular records on stone and other circumstances. And the record of Aśōka in the north of Mysore is such an exception. A somewhat misleading idea of the nature of the Aśōka records in general has been created by so often calling them 'edicts'. The record in the north of Mysore is not an administrative order: it is a precept about morality, published at a local Buddhist settlement through the local authorities, who were courteously addressed to that end in the preamble of it by the authorities who transmitted the communication. The verb *anapayati*, which we have in one text of it against the simple *aha*, 'he says' in the other text, is capable of various shades of meaning, and may be quite fairly rendered by 'he issues a precept'.

I have no inclination to deny full value to the compliment paid to Mr. Rice by the remark of the eminent French *savant*, that the discovery of the existence in Mysore of a record of Aśōka should make an epoch in Indian archæology. But it is difficult to recognize any fair basis for the inference which is suggested: I am not aware that the author of the remark has subscribed to the belief that Mahishamaṇḍala is Mysore; and he expressed in the same place the view, which I maintain, that the preamble of the record marks the locality at which it is as lying outside the dominions of Aśōka.

If we are to accept the point that kistvaens, etc., are popularly known in the north of Mysore as 'houses of the Mauryas', as showing that those structures were erected or used by Mauryas, or that the Maurya sovereignty included the territory where the name is current, we must apply in the same way, *mutatis mutandis*, the point that such structures are known in other parts as 'cells of the Pandus'. But these are, of course, simply instances of fanciful beliefs, dating from medieval times, which exist more or less all

[1] I made the remark in the course of pointing out how different the case may be with records on copper, which, being portable, have often travelled to, and been found at, places far distant from the localities to which they belong.

over India, and have no value as historical evidence. It is the acceptance of such beliefs as these that has helped, along with reliance on imaginative chronicles and spurious records, to introduce so much fabulous history into Mr. Rice's writings.

The Mahishamaṇḍala of the Pali books may be safely identified as being the territory of which the capital was Mahishmati the modern Mandhata. It lay just on the south of a part of the Vindhya range, and so (whether it was or was not in the dominions of Aśōka), it was a border-land of the Buddhist Madhyadesa, or Middle Country. That is the point. Mr. Rice is making the old mistake about the Buddhist missions, based on not attending to what the books say about them. The missions were not sent out by Aśōka and to places outside his dominions; they were sent out by the Buddhist high priest Moggaliputta-Tissa, to the territories lying round the Buddhist Middle Country.

The inscription on the Tanjore plates which mentions the 'Maisunadu seventy' is unmistakably a spurious record, fabricated not earlier than the tenth century. Mr. Rice asserts that, if not an original, it must be a copy of an original record belonging to the third century. No one with any claim to critical knowledge could advance such a proposition. And it would not help matters on, even if the record could be accepted from that point of view: the site of the present city of Mysore would still be, even in the third century, a small village incapable of giving a name to the province or to any appreciable part of it.

It seems strange to have to say anything more about the inscription which is held to show, as if it were something remarkable, that there was an Emmeyara-kula, a 'family of buffalo-keepers', residing near Seringapatam in A.D. 1175: it obviously has no value towards explaining an appellation used in the Pali books in the fourth century. The suggestion itself is trivial: there must always have been buffaloes and buffalo-keepers everywhere in India, just as there are now.

What Mr. Rice reminds us of as regards the Todas simply endorses what we infer on other grounds as to the Erumai-nadu, the 'buffalo-country', of the Tamil poet: namely, that it lay outside and on the south of Mysore, and has nothing to say to any appellation that was ever applied to Mysore itself or any part thereof. I may add that the Mysore inscription of A.D. '1117' (properly 1116) distinctly tends to locate the Todas already on the Nilgiris, not in Mysore: the verse which mentions them, along with some other peoples, does so in asserting a conquest of the Nilgiris by a general of the Hoysala king of Mysore.

As I said in my previous note, the identification of Mahishamaṇḍala with Mysore or any part thereof, or any other territory in that direction, has nothing at the bottom of it, except the point that the first part of the vernacular name, Maysur, Maisur, Mayisur, of a village which began to rise

to importance about A.D. 1500 and eventually became the name-giver to the province, lent itself naturally in that period to be represented in Sanskrit by *mahisha* as giving the nearest approach to it in sound, and was thought by archæologists of the last century to have been actually derived from that word.

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The
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Vol. III] [No. 3

ṢRĀDDHA (BRAHMAN ANCESTOR WORSHIP)

A paper read before the Mythic Society

By Mr. B. Narayan Aiyangar

SUMMARY

1. The elements composing a Ṣrāddha—(*a*) Homa or food oblations offered through fire, (*b*) feeding of Brahmans, (*c*) offering of Piṇḍas.
2. In whose names are these last offered? In the names of the ancestors, male and female, of both gotras.
3. This ancestor worship traceable to pre-Vedic times.
4. The fathers referred to are attached to the three regions—earth, air and sky. The significance of this division.
5. Inquiry as to whether this division has any relation to the Vedic classification of the gods into regents of these three regions.
6. Who are the fathers that can be worshipped in the Ṣrāddha? Three views—(*a*) fathers objects of worship even to the Devas, (*b*) fathers are Devas themselves, (*c*) one's own ancestors.
7. The significance of the Vedic Mantras supports the third view, namely, the direct worship of the departed ancestors.
8. Parents that have already achieved salvation do not stand in need of this satisfaction; then what is the object of the Ṣrāddha?
9. It is to be performed as a matter of duty and out of love to one's own parents, etc.

I

THE Brahman community of Southern India, divided as it is into the groups of Drāviḍa, Āndhra, Karnāṭa, and Maharāshtra Brahmans has in each of those groups, in greater or lesser proportion, (1) Kṛishna-Yajurvedins, *alias* Taittirīyans, most of them followers of the school of Āpastamba, others of Bodhāyana and a few of Hiraṇyakeśin; (2) Ṛigvedins, the followers of Āśvalāyana; (3) Sāmavedins; and (4) Śukla-Yajurvedins whose number is very limited. The present paper deals only with the Śrāddha ritual as performed by the Śrīvaishṇava Drāviḍas of the school of Āpastamba. Their Vedic rituals differ very little from those of the Smārta Drāviḍas of the same school.

2. About the importance of Śrāddha Āpastamba, in his *Dharma-Sūtrā*,[1] II, 7, 16, 1–3, narrates this story:—

> In the olden time the Devas and men lived together in this world. The Devas went to heaven by the merit of their acts, but men lacked greatness (by not performing such acts). Those of them who engage themselves in acts likewise (i. e. like the Devas) will dwell in the other world (heaven) with the Devas and Brahma. And Manu prescribed the Sraddha rite (ancestor worship) for the good (nissreyas) of mankind. In that rite the objects of worship are the fathers, while the Brahmans (who are fed on their behalf) are for the purpose of ahavaniya, i. e. the Brahmans are as if they are the sacred fire into which oblations are made.

Haradatta, the commentator of Āpastamba, says that this story is an *arthavāda*. What is meant by arthavāda is that only the moral or main truth intended to be taught by the story is to be taken without taking as literally true the circumstances introduced into it in order to illustrate the truth. In this story the statement that the Devas (the gods) lived on this earth along with men may be rejected; they are in their heaven and are ranged on the side of goodness, whereas their enemies, the Asuras, represent bad qualities. That even the Devas worship the Pitṛis, fathers, will become clear from the stories of the Harīvaṃśa to be narrated further on; and since even the heavenly Devas worship the fathers, the moral is that it behoves men, with their aspirations directed heavenwards, to worship the fathers.

In chapter (Paṭala) viii of his *Gṛihya Sūtrā*[2] Āpastamba describes the Śrāddha ceremony very briefly in nine aphorisms. The Vedic texts prescribed by him to be used in the different stages of the Śrāddha are arranged consecutively in the *Taittirīya Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa*,[3] II, Khaṇḍa 19, containing nineteen texts and Khaṇḍa 20, containing twenty-nine texts, altogether forty-nine texts. Almost all of them will be referred to and explained. In practice, in addition to the forty-nine texts, certain other texts also are

[1] *Bibliotheca Sanskrita*, No. 15, Mysore Government Oriental Library Series.
[2] Ibid., No. 1. [3] Ibid., No. 28.

used; but in this paper only such of them as are noteworthy will be referred to.

The Śrāddha performed by a son to his departed father combines three aspects: (1) Homa or food oblations into the sacred fire, (2) feeding of Brahmans, and (3) the offering of Piṇḍas.

First of all, facing the south, he prays to this effect:—

Those of the fathers that are in the region of the earth, those in antariksha or the mid-region (extending up to the highest clouds), those in the sky (the firmament), those that have become immortal, may all these gather together (here) in this Yajna (i.e. Sraddha).[1]

He then, facing the east, prepares the sacred fire putting it in front of him; the process of which is common to all the Gṛihya ceremonies and need not be described here.

Then he invokes the Viśvedevas of the three regions of earth, mid-region and sky to come and be seated on the *barhis* or sacrificial grass placed on the ground to the north of his side, the ends of the grass pointing eastward. The text used for their invocation is the last in the *Taittirīya Samhitā*, II, 4, 14.

Then, facing the south and putting down another *barhis* of the sacrificial grass to the south of his seat before the fire, the ends of the grass pointing southward, he invokes the fathers thus:—

Come on, Ye fathers that are worthy of the Soma beverage, by your majestic ancient paths. Grant us offspring, long life and (the prosperity of) one hundred autumns.[2]

Then he begins the Homa, the first aspect of the Śrāddha.

(1) HOMA

Cooked rice is brought from the kitchen to the Homa place in a small cup (made of plantain leaf) and six pinches of rice, taken out from it into a thick leaf used as spoon and anointed with ghee, are thrown into the sacred fire one after another to the departed father, grandfather and great-grandfather, at the rate of two oblations to each;[3] then one common oblation is to the jñātājñātas or the ancestors, remembered or unremembered, beyond the great-grandfather;[4] then six ghee offerings are made, the last of them being for Agni (the god of fire) in his aspect as Kavya-vāhana, the carrier of oblations to the fathers.[5] Then one more rice oblation,

[1] The source of this text is not known. The original is this: 'Ye pārthivāsaḥ pitaro ye antarikshe ye divi ye vā amṛitā babhūvuḥ, te asmin Yajñe samavayantām.'

[2] The source of this text also is not known. The original is this: 'Āyāta pitaraḥ somyā gambhīraiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvyaih, prajām asmabhyam dadato rayim cha dīrghāyutvam cha śataśāradam cha.' The first portion of this may be compared with the first portion of *Taittirīya Samhitā*, I, 8, 5, 6.

[3] *Taittirīya Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa*, II, 19, 1-6. [4] Ibid., 7. [5] Ibid., 8-13.

anointed *twice* with ghee is made to Agni in his aspect as Svishṭa-kṛit, that is, one who alone is fit to impart to the oblations the quality of being well offered, without any flaw or blemish.

The Mantras[1] prescribed by Āpastamba to be uttered when offering the first six oblations are noteworthy. Taken collectively their purport is this :—

If my mother or grandmother or great-grandmother ever swerved from faithfulness (to her wedded husband) and coveted (the seed of another person), let my father or grandfather or great-grandfather claim the seed (the blood running in my veins) as his, and let any other man that may come forward to claim me (as his son or grandson or great-grandson) take himself away (from this place of the Sraddha ceremony).

With volumes of water standing or running, with floods that scour their banks and overflow all about; with mountains, with this vast earth, with these endless directions; with day and night, with months and half months, with seasons and their junctions, —with these I barricade the other man from my father, grandfather and great-grandfather (so that he may not have any share in the oblations offered to them).[2]

There can be no Śrāddha by a person born contrary to the spirit of wedlock, and the son's feelings as disclosed in the Mantras have sprung from intense desire for the purity of the family line that goes upwards to the original patriarchs of hallowed memory. Generally speaking there will be no actual adultery in respectable families, but, says Haradatta the commentator, it is difficult to avoid evil thought. The sonship which is worthy to render worship to the holy ancestors must be free from the contamination of even evil thought on the part of the parents; and the Mantras seem to be intended to infuse spiritually real, pure, uncontaminated sonship into the son, the performer of the Śrāddha, even for three generations before him. When even night is made a barrier to the sinner in question, there is not even the night's moonlight or starlight for him; he is in blind darkness. A sinner may be strutting about in sunshine, but all the same he is in moral darkness.

None of the aforesaid six Mantras are found in the Ṛig-Veda, and though they may not be as old as the Ṛig-vedic period, still their archaic style seems to indicate their pretty high antiquity.

The Mantra[3] prescribed by Āpastamba to be used when offering the oblation to the jñātājñātas beyond the great-grandfather is to this effect :—

Those fathers that are present here (having complied with our call and come down invisibly here), and those that may not be present here; those whom we know (i. e. remember) and those whom we do not know, O Agni! thou knowest them, and may all of them enjoy this Svadha oblation offered (through thee).

[1] *Taittirīya Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa*, II, 19, 1-6.

[2] This may be compared with the old sayings quoted in Āpastamba's Dharma-Sūtra, II, 6, 13, 5 and 6 to the effect that the chastity of the wives should be carefully guarded, for, should anybody other than the husband beget sons in them, he may come forward in the other world to claim them as his own issue. By it the thread of the family line that is to be continued in a pure state would be broken.

[3] *Taittirīya Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa*, II, 19, 7.

This Mantra is identical with *Rig-Veda*, X, 15, 13, with a few verbal variations in the second half.

Thus in the Śrāddha *to deceased father* the Homa oblations are to three male ancestors by name and then to all the ancestry beyond them. If the grandfather or great-grandfather or both be alive, then the next one or two higher ancestors that are dead are given the oblation in order to make up the number three. No Homa oblations are made to females by the followers of Āpastamba.

In the Śrāddha *to deceased mother* the male ancestors get the Homa oblations as in the Śrāddha to the father. If the father is alive, then leaving his name higher names are taken.

(2) FEEDING OF BRAHMANS

Āpastamba speaks of feeding Brahmans on behalf of the fathers only. Three Brahmans may be invited to represent the father, grandfather and great-grandfather respectively.[1]

But according to the *Code of Manu*, III, 125, and also of *Yājñavalkya*, I, 228, two more Brahmans must be invited to represent the Viśvedevas, and there are other Smṛiti texts saying that without the protection of the Viśvedevas the Śrāddha would be molested and destroyed by evil spirits. Owing to the difficulty of getting so many Brahmans, the practice is this: only one Brahman represents the father, grandfather and great-grandfather; and of the two intended for the Viśvedevas one represents them, while the other, if available, represents Vishṇu; if not, the god worshipped in the house is supposed to represent him.

In respect of washing the feet of the three Brahmans and ornamenting them with sandal and flowers and also in all other respects in the dinner, the Brahman representing the Viśvedevas is attended to first, then the Brahman on behalf of the three ancestors, and lastly the Brahman on behalf of Vishṇu. The first sits facing the east, the second sits to the south-east of him, facing the north, while the third may sit either on the right side of the second, facing the north like him, or to the north-east of the first, facing the south, so that in that case the three Brahmans form a triangle.

After their feet have been washed in some open part of the house and they have been brought in, the place of their dinner, though formerly swept and cleaned, is ceremonially swept and sprinkled with water whilst a Vedic text for driving away evil spirits called Asura, Rakshas and Piśaca is used.

[1] In the Śrāddha *to deceased mother* the second Brahman represents mother, paternal grandmother and great-grandmother. If either of the latter or both are alive, then higher female name or names are taken.

Then the Mantra 'Udīratām avare' etc.,[1] is repeated; it is in praise of the fathers of the three stations of earth, mid-region and the sky and invokes their blessings.

Then when the food is served on the leaves the texts called Rakshoghna[2] are repeated in order to protect the food from the Rakshasas, while the three Brahmans repeat certain texts from the *Taittirīya Samhitā*, the first of which (VII, 5, 18, 1) is noteworthy as praying for the prosperity of the rāshṭra or kingdom, for the birth of worthy and valiant sons to the Brahman and Rājanya (the ruling class), for seasonable rains, etc.

To the food of the Brahman representing the ancestors a portion of the residue of the rice in the Homa cup is added and the whole food is offered to the three ancestors by repeating three texts[3] prescribed by Āpastamba for that purpose. Their purport will be given further on after I have said something about the Devas of the three stations of earth, mid-region and sky.

Then the performer addresses the food of the three Brahmans, one after another commencing from the Brahman of the Viṣvedevas, with the text[4] prescribed by Āpastamba for that purpose. Its purport is this:—

> The (whole) earth is thy vessel and the (whole) sky is thy lid. I sacrifice thee unto the mouth of this Brahman, unto his vital energy. May there be undiminished food for Brahmans both here and in the other world (heaven).

In practice, in addition to the above is repeated the verse, *Rig-Veda*, I, 22, 17, about Vishṇu having measured all this (space from earth to the highest sky) with his three strides. Also, the verse 'eko vishṇur mahadbhūtam' is repeated. It is verse 140 of the *Vishṇu-sahasranāma Stotra*[5] which forms part of the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. Its purport is that the One Vishṇu that has entered into the three worlds and all the creatures (as the Supreme Self) is the eater of all things. And then by saying that it is Vishṇu that is the eater in the form of the three Brahmans and that this Śrāddha food is virtually given at Vishṇupāda at Gayā, the gift of the food is completed.

Then the Brahmans begin to eat their dinner, while in another part of the house Brahmans who have come to receive charity in the shape of dakshiṇā, cash presents, chant the Purusha sūkta and other selections from the Kṛishṇa Yajurveda, within the hearing of the eating Brahmans.

Before they get up from their dinner, a little cooked rice is strewn before their leaves. There are no Vedic texts for doing so, nor does Āpastamba mention this rite. The verses repeated in this rite indicate

1 *Taittirīya Samhitā*, II, 6, 12, 9, which is the same as *Ṛig-Veda*, X, 15, 1.
2 *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, II, 1, 1-2.
3 *Taittirīya Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa*, II, 19, 14-6.
4 Ibid., II, 20, 1.
5 *Bibliotheca Sanskṛita*, No. 19, p. 127.

that it is for the benefit of those kinds of Devas that are not entitled to a regular share in sacrifices, and of those females of the family who may have died without any Samskāra (such as marriage) or who may have been discarded (by their husbands). Then facing the south a ball of cooked rice is put down on the left side of the Brahman representing the ancestors, for the benefit of all persons of the family born and dead, cremated or uncremated. This rite also is not mentioned by Āpastamba. This rice ball with the strewn rice collected together is placed in a high open place in the house for the crows to come and eat; hence the ball is called Kāka-piṇḍa. If the crows do not happen to come and eat it it must be taken out and thrown into river or tank, before the performer of the Śrāddha and his people can take their food.

The three Brahmans get up and go out to rinse their mouths and wash their hands and feet; and on their coming in they are presented with tāmbūla and dakshinā. At this time the Brahman representing the ancestors takes precedence over the Brahman of the Viśvedevas. Then the performer repeats the Mantra 'vāje vāje'[1] in which the fathers are asked to be graciously satisfied with the Soma offered to them and to go away by the path of Devayāna. Then he prostrates before the Brahmans, who say that the Śrāddha has been well performed. They repeat certain texts wishing prosperity to the family and depart from the house.

(3) THE PIṆḌA OFFERING

Then six piṇḍas or balls, each about as big as an orange and made up of all the varieties of the Śrāddha food are brought from the kitchen with a little rice in a tray. The balls and the rice will have been mixed up with all the remnant of the rice of the Homa cup. Then on the southern side of the Homa fire sacrificial grass is spread on the floor in two parallel lines pointing to the south. On the first line three of the piṇḍas are offered to the departed father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and then on the other line (to the right of the first line) the remaining three piṇḍas are offered to the three females. Thus the piṇḍa offering is to both the males and females, and behind each ball a little rice from the tray is placed for the male and female companions that are supposed to be with the three males and three females. Then a little water is offered over the balls, and then the performer stands up with joined palms and addresses the ancestors, both male and female, by a text which means that they want their progeny here to make them the Svadhā offerings and in which the performer offering the piṇḍas as their Svadhā asks them thrice to be satisfied (tṛipyata) with it. In this connexion the word tṛipti is capable of meaning either satisfaction allaying a want or mental pleasure at the sight of dutiful

1 *Taittirīya Samhitā*, I, 8, 2, 2.

worship rendered to them by their descendants. These acts in the piṇḍa offering are altogether covered by twenty-seven texts.[1]

Then the performer puts into his mouth a pinch of the rice remaining in the tray, repeating the last text,[2] the purport of which indicates that he offers it to his Prāṇa, vital breath or energy, and fixes his soul in Brahman (the Supreme Self residing in the heart) for obtaining immortality. By thus eating the remnant of rice used in the three acts of Homa, of the feedings of the Brahmans and of the piṇḍa offering the son would seem to infuse into himself the spiritual energy of the fathers, so that he may be able to perform well all his lawful acts and obtain immortality at the end.

This completes the Śrāddha. The six piṇḍas are disposed of either by making a cow to eat them or by throwing them into a river or tank.

A son ought to perform Śrāddha to his mother's departed father in the absence of male issue to him. If there are male heirs, they, of course, will perform the Śrāddha to him regularly. But still on every new moon day and on certain other days in the year, every Brahman who has lost his father offers Tarpaṇa or water mixed with *tila* seeds not only to his own ancestors (three males and three females) including the jñātājñātas, but also likewise to the ancestors of his mother.

Thus the performer has to remember twelve names, but only two gotras, .e. his own gotra and the gotra of his mother's father, because the six females, though coming from different gotras, are supposed to have become one with the gotra of the line which they entered by marriage. It would be difficult, too, to ascertain and remember the birth gotras of all the females, unless a regular list is handed down from generation to generation.

Let a son include his mother in the gotra of his own paternal line in the Śrāddha, but the fact remains that on account of his mother he honours her birth gotra also by worshipping her ancestors in the Tarpaṇa, and each one of the ancestors in both the lines had, in his lifetime, done the same honour to his mother's birth gotra. Any gotra which any of the ancestors thus honoured is fit to be honoured by the descendant; so that it seems to me that the honour done to the two gotras is intended to include honour to the birth gotras of all the ancestral mothers; and if we take the jñātājñātas also into consideration those gotras would probably include all the intermarriageable gotras of the Brahmans, seeing that those gotras must have contracted countless intermarriages during the long ages that have passed since the days of the Gotrakāras by whose names the gotras are known. All these are our fathers. Even in the Ṛig-Veda mention is made of ancient fathers, so that ancestral worship seems to have come down from pre-Vedic days.

[1] *Taittirīya Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa*, II, 5, 20, 2-28. [2] Ibid., 29.

In the Vedic mantras such as 'Udīratām',[1] etc., the fathers are described as 'avare', 'madhyamāḥ', and 'parāsaḥ', meaning the lower, the middle, and the highest or the most ancient fathers. These are stated to be located the first on the earth itself, the second in the middle region antariksha (the atmospheric region reaching up to the highest clouds), and the third in the sky on high.

In the Vedas the Devas also are classified into three groups and described as occupying the same three regions thus: The Vasus occupy the earth with Agni as their mouthpiece; the Rudras occupy the antariksha region with Vāyu, the god of wind, as their mouthpiece; the Ādityas occupy the sky with the sun Āditya as their mouthpiece. In the sacrificial Savanas the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas get respectively the morning, midday and evening oblations. The Ādityas include many prominent gods such as Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Indra and others. The Devas have their heaven in a far high region not visible to the eye of mortals; yet they are believed to be able to be in many places at one and the same time to receive the oblations of the different sacrificers residing in different places.[2] Similarly they are present also in the three visible regions. This belief indicates that the eye of the gods is always upon us and that good or bad acts will surely meet with reward or punishment. Even in the *Rig-Veda* the different gods were looked upon as the different aspects of only One Deity; for it says[3] that the *One* is called by the seers variously, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, Yama, Mātariṣvan, etc. As the *One* Omnipresent is also Omniscient, light as a metaphor for knowledge or intelligence has become Its symbol, the first light being Agni on the earth, the second light the lightning in Vāyu's region, while the third light is the sun, to us the grandest of the luminaries of the sky.

The great progress which astronomy has made may perhaps laugh at the idea of our insignificant earth and the insignificant space covered by our antariksha being mentioned as two *regions* in the company of the vast distances between the sun and a star and between one star and another star in the third region. But we are to judge our ancients by the amount of the knowledge that it was possible for them to acquire in those days. Even now to us living on this earth the first and second regions are very important. The first, our mother earth, supports us and gives us food and fire and is full of marvellous things, small and great, conducive to the manifold character of our knowledge. We are indebted to the second region for our breathing air and for the downpours from its moving mountains, the clouds, marvellously flashing with lightning and roaring with thunder. From the third region we get our daylight and warmth from the glorious sun,

1 *Rig-Veda*, X, 15, 1; *Taittirīya Samhitā*, II, 6, 12, 3.
2 *Brahma Sūtrā*, I, 3, 26.
3 *Rig-Veda*, I, 164, 46.

while the moon gives us the sun's reflected light in the night, and the star-bedecked sky is wonderful to see. Thus, seen from the point of view of contributors to life and inspirers of our wonder and religious spirit, the three regions are equally important.

In connexion with the three regions a word about Vishṇu may be mentioned. The *Rig-Veda* says that this God measured the extensive regions by only three strides and that in doing so he placed his steps in three places, which are clearly specified as the earth, the antariksha, and the sky, in the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, III, 1, 2, 6; also in the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, I, 9, 3, 9 (*vide* J. Eggeling's *Translation*, Part I, p. 268). Vishṇu's striding over the three regions indicates that he is pervading everywhere.

The idea that like the Devas the fathers also are present in the three regions is suggestive of their eye also being always on their descendants, who should realize that fact and walk in the path of righteousness handed down by them. How highly the fathers were esteemed may be gathered from the Vedic texts (already alluded to) which are repeated by the performer of the Śrāddha when offering the consecrated food to the Brahman representing the father, grandfather and great-grandfather.

Those Vedic texts[1] are to this effect:—

(1) Father! I offer this sweet Svadha to thee; it is as vast as Agni and Earth. Svadha! Be thou to my father as non-decreasing as Agni. (Father!) Enjoy this Svadha along *with them*. The Riks are thy greatness.

(2) Grandfather! I offer this sweet Svadha to thee; it is as vast as Vayu and Antariksha (the mid-region). Svadha! Be thou to my grandfather as non-decreasing as Vayu. (Grandfather!) Enjoy this Svadha along *with them*. The Samans are thy greatness.

(3) Great-grandfather! I offer this sweet Svadha to thee; it is as vast as the sun and the sky. Svadha! Be thou to my great-grandfather as non-decreasing as the sun. (Great-grandfather!) Enjoy this Svadha along *with them*. The Yajushes are thy greatness.

It will be seen that the three ancestors are clearly associated with the Devas of the three regions respectively. In each of the three texts above quoted the original for '*with them*' is in the plural (taiḥ) which in Sanskṛit means three or more. What is meant by *with them* may perhaps be explained thus: dividing the countless fathers into three groups, (1) the fathers of the first group as well as the Vasus and the god Agni are with the departed father and he eats with them; (2) the fathers of the second group as well as the Rudras and the god Vāyu are with the grandfather and he eats with them; (3) the fathers of the third group as well as the Ādityas and the sun god are with the great-grandfather and he eats with them.

Should it be thought that the departed father must remain in each of these stations for some time before ascending higher than the third station,

[1] *Taittirīya Ekāgni-Kāṇḍa*, II, 19, 14-16.

then those beyond the great-grandfather must have gone to that higher destination; and yet there is the fact that it is not the single father or the single grandfather or the single great-grandfather, but *fathers* in the plural that are mentioned in Mantras such as 'Udīratām' as being in each of the three regions. Moreover, let this concrete case be considered: *A*, the deceased, had three sons *B*, *C* and *D*, of whom *D* alone is living; *B* and his son and grandson having died, *B's* great-grandson *F* is living; *C* and his son having died *C's* grandson *G* is living. Now in the Śrāddhas separately performed by *D*, *F* and *G*, *D* places *A* in the first region, while *F* and *G* place the same *A* in the second and third regions respectively. Thus the three regions are grand vast tiers one above another for each of them to place his own three ancestors. The thing, therefore, seems to be this: in whatever invisible heaven far above the firmanent the fathers may be, they are believed to be able to be present also in the three visible regions exactly like the three groups of the gods, and they are also believed to come and sit on the darbha grass spread for them by the side of the Homa fire.

The expression that the Ṛiks, Sāmans and Yajushes are respectively the greatness of the three ancestors means that they are worthy of being praised respectively by the three Vedas. It can never be supposed that one Veda is inferior to another; all the three Vedas are equally holy. Similarly, if the presence of the One Omnipresent Holy Spirit is realized in the three regions—a presence which is indicated by Vishṇu's placing his three steps there—all the three regions are equally sacred. Likewise the three ancestors and the groups of fathers associated with them are all equally worthy of worship.

The Svadhā offered and likened in its vastness to the three regions is, it should be noted, non-decreasing; in other words it is immutable and permanent. Agni lighted up in one place may be extinguished, but taken as a whole he is always present latently, to blaze forth again and again whenever kindled or whenever he flashes forth as lightning. So are the air and the sun always present. Although all these may disappear in the time of the Pralaya, still they endure for millions of years and are therefore taken, it would seem, metaphorically to illustrate the ever enduring Svadhā.

Now Svadhā means self-pleasure, self-joy, that is, joy inherent in one's self and not dependent upon other things. In the *Rig-Veda* the One Supreme Spirit which alone existed at the time of the dissolution of the universe is spoken of as having its own Svadhā.[1] Surely the Supreme Spirit's joy must be in its own nature. So in offering Svadhā to the fathers in the form of the small quantity of food which he can afford to

[1] *Rig-Veda*, X, 129, 2.

offer, the son wishes it to be graciously accepted by the ancestors as their own unbounded self-joy.

II

But in post-Vedic days the question, Who are the fathers that can be worshipped in the Śrāddha? became a big question. There is no certainty, it was argued, that the ancestors invoked by name have gone to the heaven of the Devas; if they have gone there they, like the Devas, would, of course, be able to come down invisibly, attend the ceremony, and enjoy the oblations; but, if they have taken re-birth in any mundane form, they cannot leave that prison and come to the Śrāddha. So, the fathers, though invoked by the names of the departed ancestors, must, it was thought, be a class of beings specially ordained by the Creator to receive the Śrāddha offerings and transmit their beneficial effects to the real ancestors wherever they may be.

This question is dealt with in Book I, chapters 16, 17 and 18, of the *Harivaṃśa*, in the form of old questions put and answered. I shall divide them into four parts and deal with them one after another. The first is to the following effect:—

When Bhishma, the famous bachelor uncle of the Kauravas and Pandavas, performed Sraddha to his departed father Santanu, he, following custom, proceeded to place on the sacred grass spread on the earth the pinda intended for his father. At that very time the father Santanu (who had obtained heaven and therefore like the Devas could assume any form at will) came down from heaven in visible form and stretched out his hand to receive the pinda directly from his son's hand. Bhishma paused for a moment but placed the ball on the grass alone. The father asked, 'Why so, my son, when I myself have come to receive the offering?' Bhishma said that he was bound by the ritualistic law which prescribed the manner of the offering. Hearing this the father said, 'You have done well in following the law; I simply wanted to test you.' If thus one may not take notice of one's own father, grandfather and great-grandfather, even if they should appear in person to receive the offerings intended for them, Bhishma wanted to know from his father, 'Who then are the fathers worshipped in the Sraddha'. In his answer Santanu mentions three alternative views held by the learned folk as to who are the fathers thus:—

(*a*) One view is that the fathers are objects of worship even to the Devas (Devanam api Devatah).
(*b*) Another view is that the Devas themselves are the fathers.
(*c*) The third view is that the fathers are others (than the first and second), meaning that they are one's own ancestors.

Of these three views Śantanu seems to adopt the first view, for he says to this effect:—

The fathers in heaven, my son! are the offspring of Adi-Deva himself (the first god Brahma *alias* Prajapati); they are worshipped by all kinds of beings, including the Devas and men; worshipped by men in the names of their ancestors, the fathers find in the

oblations satisfaction (apyayana) for themselves and also for the ancestors, and confer happiness on the performers of the Sraddha worship.[1] If you want to learn more go and ask Rishi Markandeya. So saying Santanu disappeared.

So far the first part of the story. Bhīshma goes to Mārkaṇḍeya and learns many things. It may be mentioned here that in the Araṇyaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* Ṛishi Mārkaṇḍeya is portrayed as a sage endowed with uncommonly long life and as having survived many deluges of this earth; and before narrating the other parts of the *Harivaṃśa* story which seem to describe certain things about the fathers in an allegorical manner, I shall indulge in a slight digression and give here the *Mahābhārata* story about the last deluge survived by Mārkaṇḍeya and its allegorical meaning. That story[2] is briefly this :—

The people of this earth became very sinful; the time for destruction came; the sun emitted burning fire and destroyed everything, and then the deluge came. Markandeya (by reason of his being a Chirajivin) did not die but floated on the waves terribly buffeted by them; but in course of time amidst the same surging waves he came upon a serene infant, who opened his mouth and took Markandeya into his belly so that he might find rest in it. To his wonder Markandeya saw the whole universe in the belly of the infant; and having come out, he asked the infant who he was. The infant said that he was the greatest Deity Narayana.

In this allegory the angry waves of the deluge are evidently the unsubdued senses, or it may be they are the Urmishaṭkas, the six waves of affliction which assail human life, namely, hunger, thirst, heat, cold, greed, error. In this very body in which the human soul is buffeted by the waves of affliction there is the Antaryāmin Child, the Supreme Self, in the womb of the heart, ever sinless and therefore portrayed as a child. To indicate that, though located in the heart, the Supreme Self should not be viewed as a limited being, but as the Infinite Self pervading the heart and also encompassing the whole universe, it is said that the universe was seen in the child's belly.

Now to the second part of the *Harivaṃśa* story. Ṛishi Mārkaṇḍeya, on being approached and questioned by Bhīshma, says to this effect :—

By the blessings of my father (Mrikandu) I have obtained my (uncommon) long life, for by Pitri-bhakti indeed were great boons obtained in the world. At the end of a cycle of thousands of years I ascended to the top of Mount Meru and began to perform severe and very difficult *tapas*. (Here *tapas* may be taken to mean the Yoga-practice). In the course of it I saw a Vimana (aerial vehicle) come from the northern side of the mountain, shedding its light all about, and containing a brilliant Purusha of the size of a thumb (angushtha-matra), as if one (blazing) fire was placed in another (blazing) fire. I

[1] The commentator says that if any of the ancestors has obtained moksha or complete liberation he is in want of no satisfaction from the Śrāddha offerings. The intermediary fathers utilize his portion for themselves. He says that the fathers who are objects of worship even to the Devas reside in heavens higher than the Svargaloka of the Devas.

[2] *Araṇyaparvan*, chapter 188.

saluted him duly and asked how I might know him. He said: 'You have not performed your *tapas* well and so you do not know me'. Then he instantly took up another form as a man the like of whom I had never seen before and he said: 'Know me to be the first son of Brahma, born from his mind, by the vigour of his *tapas*, and endued with the quality of Narayana ('Narayana-gunatmakam'). Other sons of Brahma are my younger bothers, seven in number, whose vamsas, lines of descendants, are established everywhere. They are Kratu, Vasishtha, Pulaha, Pulastya, Atri, Angiras and Marichi. They are worshipped by the Devas, Gandharvas, Danavas, etc. But I follow the Yati-dharma, asceticism, uniting (my-) self unto the (Supreme) Self ('sam-yojyatmanam atmani'), and never desiring for progeny and the duties (of householder). Know me to be in the same state in which I was born and therefore I am called Sanatkumara, the eternal child or infant.

It strikes me that this story is an allegory. The first son represents asceticism and is, therefore, portrayed as a child, for the child has no sexual desire, and the ideal ascetic is one who has killed that desire. Brahmacharya or studentship may be followed by the state of householder and that state by asceticism; but when once one becomes an ascetic one must ever remain an ascetic. So asceticism is Sanatkumāra, ever an infant. Nārāyaṇa is the Supreme Self in the aspect of Āntaryāmin, the In-dweller in the hearts of all creatures. Purusha and Angushtha-mātra are well known terms used in the *Upanishads* to denote the In-dweller.[1] At the time of the contemplation the Yogin is supposed to become tanmaya of the Supreme Self in the heart, i. e. merge in and become one with that Self. Therefore it would seem that Sanatkumāra is described as Angushtha-mātra.

Now to the third part of the *Harivaṃśa* story. Mārkaṇḍeya says to Bhīshma that he spent a long time with Sanatkumāra discoursing on many subjects, in the course of which he questioned him about the Śrāddha ceremony and the fathers, and he heard from him to this effect:—

Brahma created the Devas to offer sacrifices unto him; but the Devas fell into the practice of offering the oblations unto themselves. By doing so they incurred the displeasure of Brahma and became confounded (in their mental power). They approached Brahma for a remedy, but he said to them 'Go to your own sons and they will prescribe for you expiatory rites (prayaschitta). Accordingly they went to their sons and got instructed by them as to those rites. But they were surprised to hear these their own sons address them as O! our sons! To know the meaning of this they went to Brahma and he said: 'What they said is quite true, for, having imparted jnana, knowledge, to you they as teachers are spiritually your fathers and you too as sarira-kartarah or the producers of their bodies are their fathers. Thus you and your sons are fathers to each other'. Hearing this the Devas went back to their sons and said: 'You were quite right in addressing us as your sons; you are the fathers; henceforth you will be worshipped by all in the Sraddha ceremony as the fathers.

The commentator of the *Harivaṃśa* says that this story supports the second view that the Devas themselves are the fathers worshipped in the Śrāddha. But it strikes me that this remarkable story contains a hidden

[1] *Vide Katha Upanishad*, 4, 12; 4, 13; 6, 17; *Svet. Upanishad*, 3, 13; 5, 8.

meaning. It is not stated who the sons of the Devas are and what are their names. No true Devas that are worshipped in the sacrifices could be supposed to have behaved like the Devas of this story. The fact that out of the two paths of nivṛitti-mārga or asceticism and pravṛitti-mārga or worldly life, the former represented by Sanatkumāra and the latter by the seven patriarchs, the former is given the place of honour as the first son of Brahmā, reveals the hand of the Vedantic philosopher in this story. The worldly life is led either in a beastly manner in which worship to one's own parent is not recognized, or in a godly manner in which the relationship of father and son is recognized and worship is paid to the parent. This implies the state of householder entered into by holy wedlock. Now in the *Upanishads* the word Devas is often used as meaning the senses (for instance *Kaṭha Upanishad*, 5, 3). Therefore, the Devas of our story, who ignored the worship of their father and offered the sacrifices unto themselves, would seem to represent the unsubdued animal senses under whose influence man becomes virtually an animal, a state which by a very humorous satire is indicated by the expression that the Devas were nothing more than makers of ṣarīras, bodies, in the shape of their issue. Beasts do not respect their parents; there is no pitṛi-bhakti in them. But there is this distinguishing feature in man, he is generally animal at first, but by reformation his senses become godly afterwards. This second state of the Devas, the senses, is enshrouded in the first and comes out in due time as the son from the parent and converts its father, the first state, into its own son in the sense that it educates it by prescribing the prāyaṣchitta and makes it obedient to it.

Now if this is the hidden meaning of the story the question is, what is its object in a story about the fathers worshipped in the Ṣrāddha? I think the object is to suggest that the original patriarchs were ideal householders who were not fathers simply as body-makers, but fathers that practised dharma, rendered worship to their Father Brahmā, brought up their sons in good ways and became respected and renowned. In short it is these ideal patriarchal fathers themselves as beings of subdued senses that are to be viewed as mirrored in the so-called sons of the Devas, and so it is they that are meant by the story as the fathers worshipped in the Ṣrāddha.

Now comes the fourth part of the story. After narrating how the Devas received prāyaṣchitta from their own sons, in the manner above described, Sanatkumāra tells Mārkaṇḍeya what fathers are worshipped by whom, dividing the fathers into two classes, called Amūrtas and Mūrtas:—

I. The Amūrta Fathers

(1) Vairajas, sons of Virat,
(2) Agnishvattas, sons of Marichi, } worshipped by the Devas.
(3) Barhishadas, sons of Pulastya, worshipped not only by the Devas, but also by the Yaksha, Gandharva, Rakshasa, Naga, Sarpa, and Suparna classes of beings.

(4) Sukalas, sons of Vasishtha, worshipped by the Brahmana caste.
(5) Angirasas, sons of Angiras, worshipped by the Kshatriya caste.
(6) Su-svadhas, sons of Pulaha, worshipped by the Vaisya caste.
(7) Somapas, sons of Hiranyagarbha, worshipped by the Sudra caste.

This list clashes a little with the second part of the story, for out of the seven patriarchs therein mentioned five names are repeated here, but omitting Kratu and Atri, two new names are put in, namely, Virāṭ and Hiraṇyagarbha. This classification of the fathers and their assignment to the different classes of beings and the four castes of men is not quite explicable to me, for reasons stated in the note below[1]; but the main point established is that all the four castes and even the Devas render worship to the fathers.

The same kind of classification of the fathers is met with in *Manu*, III, 194–200. To emphasize the importance of the Śrāddha worship the *Harivaṃśa* story distinctly says: 'Devakāryād api mune! pitṛikāryam viśishyate', meaning that the worship of the fathers is more important than the worship of the Devas. The same is stated in *Manu*, III, 203.

It may be mentioned here that in the Vedic calendar of the twenty-seven asterisms[2] the Maghā asterism is dedicated to the fathers, described as being as swift as mind, those that did good acts, whether they are Agnidagdhas or Anagnidagdhas (cremated or uncremated), whether they occupy this station (the region of earth), or whether they are known or unknown. The seven stars of the great Bear which is to the north of the Maghā asterism are dedicated to the seven patriarchal Ṛishis, and are called the Saptarshis. About the seven patriarchs and the gotras or families sprung from them the book called *Pravara and Gotra, Bibliotheca Sanskṛita*, No. 25, may be consulted.

Although as explained above the *Harivaṃśa* story favours the first view, namely that the patriarchal fathers are objects of worship even to the

[1] (1) The Brāhmaṇs are descended from many Gotrakāras, and so there is no reason why the sons of Vasishṭha only should be assigned to them as their Fathers. (2) The Gotrapravara book distinctly includes Angiras among their patriarchs and they use the Mantra: 'Angiraso* naḥ pitaraḥ' in which the Angirases, Bhṛigus and others are mentioned as our fathers. So there is no reason why the sons of Angiras should be assigned to the Kshatriyas only for worship. Even now there are Brāhmaṇs everywhere belonging to the Āngirasa gotra.' (3) Another Mantra that is used, namely: 'Ayantu naḥ pitaraḥ' mentions our fathers as Agnishvattas, but in this list they are assigned to the Devas for worship. (4) Su-svadhās (No. 6) mean those who deserve well the Svadhā offerings. The fathers worshipped by the Brāhmaṇs distinctly get their Svadhā; without it there can be no Śrāddha; and yet in this list the Su-svadhās are assigned to the Vaiśyas for worship. (5) Somapas (No. 7) mean the partakers of the holy Soma drink. The fathers worshipped by the Brahmans are called Somyāsaḥ, deserving of the Soma drink; but in this list the Somapas are assigned to the Śūdras for worship.

[2] *Taittirīya Brahmaṇa*, III, 1, 1 and 2.

* *Rig-Veda*, X, 14, 6; *Taittiriya Samhita*, II, 6, 12, 6.

Devas, still the second view that the Devas themselves are the fathers derives some support from *Yājñavalkya*, I, verses 267 and 268. They are to this effect:—

The Vasus, Rudras and Adityas are the fathers. Worshipped by means of the Sraddha they gladden (prinayanti) the ancestors of men and confer upon men (that perform the Sraddha) longlife, progeny, wealth, kingdom, knowledge, happiness, the Svarga heaven, and (even) Moksha.

In commenting on this Vijñāneśvara says:—

Men by the result of their individual acts have gone to Svarga, Naraka (or other states of existence). There is no possibility of their obtaining tripti (satisfaction), from the food water, etc., offered by their sons here. Even granting that they derive satisfaction, they cannot grant the boons to their sons, for they are themselves helpless (anisa). Therefore not merely such and such ancestors (whose names are mentioned) but they together with the superintending Deities of the Sraddha are the objects for whom the food, etc., are presented. . . . Therefore the Vasus, Rudras and Adityas who are the superintending Deities derive satisfaction from the food, etc., and thus satisfied they satisfy the ancestors (wherever they may be), and confer the boons on the sons performing the Sraddha.

We saw (in Part I) that in the Vedas both the fathers and the Devas known as the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are described as occupying the three regions of earth, mid-region and sky. So when the reason of scholasticism created doubts about the ability of the ancestors, many of them possibly migrating in mortal bodies, to be present at the Śrāddha and confer boons on their sons, the three classes of the Devas of the same three regions seem to have been utilized as the superintending Deities of the Śrāddha, capable of receiving the offerings on behalf of the ancestors and of benefiting them.

III

If we confine ourselves to the Vedic Śrāddha Mantras the third view would appear to stand as the most ancient, for there can be no doubt that the Mantras mean the direct worship of the departed ancestors, both recent and remote. Just as the son performing the Śrāddha stoutly believes by means of the Mantras used in the Homa that he is the true unmixed descendant of his ancestors, the Vedas seem to expect him to believe that his ancestors have had their sins forgiven and have attained to a state of immortal existence in which they enjoy their self-joy called Svadhā, and that, therefore, they are worthy of worship by him with profound Pitṛibhakti.

It is necessary here to say something about Deva-Yāṇa and Pitṛi-Yāṇa, meaning the path of the Devas and the path of the fathers mentioned in the *Brihadāranyaka* and *Chhāndogya Upanishads*.[1] These two paths

[1] *Brihadāranyaka Upanishads*, VIII, second Brahmana; *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, V, 6-10; also IV, 15, 6.

are also called respectively the Path of Light and the Path of Darkness. These paths are mentioned also in the *Bhagavadgītā* (VIII, 23-6). The idea of these two paths is briefly this: Those who know Brahman, whether they are householders disinterestedly performing works (in the manner laid down in the *Bhagavadgītā*), or whether they are anchorites that have retired to the forests,—these two classes of men depart from here to the heaven of Brahman by the Path of Light via the Solar Globe, and never return to the vortex of births and deaths; but those householders who indulge in selfish pleasures and perform works for the sake of worldly rewards, depart from here by the Path of Darkness to the world of the fathers and the moon, and after enjoying their pleasures there, fall down and are born again. This idea of the kind of the fathers whose world is reached by the Path of Darkness seem to be a satire upon those householders who, not realizing the unselfish, all-loving Brahman, beget children to satisfy lust and hanker selfishly after worldly pleasures. The fathers worshipped in the Śrāddha, however, are distinctly described in the Mantras as travelling in the Deva-Yāna Path, the hallowed ancient Path. Therefore, they should not be confounded with the fathers of the Dark Path.

The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (which is one of the oldest Upanishads) distinctly says (IV. 15, 6) that in respect of those who depart from this world by the Path of Light it does not matter whether or not funerals (and Śrāddha) are performed. This implies that those householders and ascetics who have in their own respective āśramas realized the universal Brahman are in no need of any benefit derivable from the ceremonies performed for them after their death. According to the Viśishṭādvaita school this Brahman residing in the highest heaven is a permanent manifestation of the formless Infinite Supreme Self and those only that have realized the Infinite Self can go there; and their soul is always in harmonious touch or assimilation with the Supreme Self. The Advaita school, in granting that those who depart by the Path of Light do not return to the vortex of births and deaths, and are not in need of the Śrāddha benefits, holds that the Brahman reached by that path is the Saguṇa aspect of the Infinite Nirguṇa Brahman, and that those who go to the Saguṇa Brahman remain in a state of pure individuality free from all blemish, and become one with the Impersonal Infinite Nirguṇa Brahman at the time of the dissolution of the universe. Then even individuality ceases and that is the highest liberation. Those who realize the Infinite Nirguṇa Brahman even in this life by eschewing works and embracing the highest kind of asceticism need not wait till the end of the universe but become identified with the Infinite Nirguṇa Brahman at once. Such ascetics are called Brahmībhūtas.

It must be stated here that although the Brahmībhūta ascetics and those who depart by the Path of Light are not in need of the

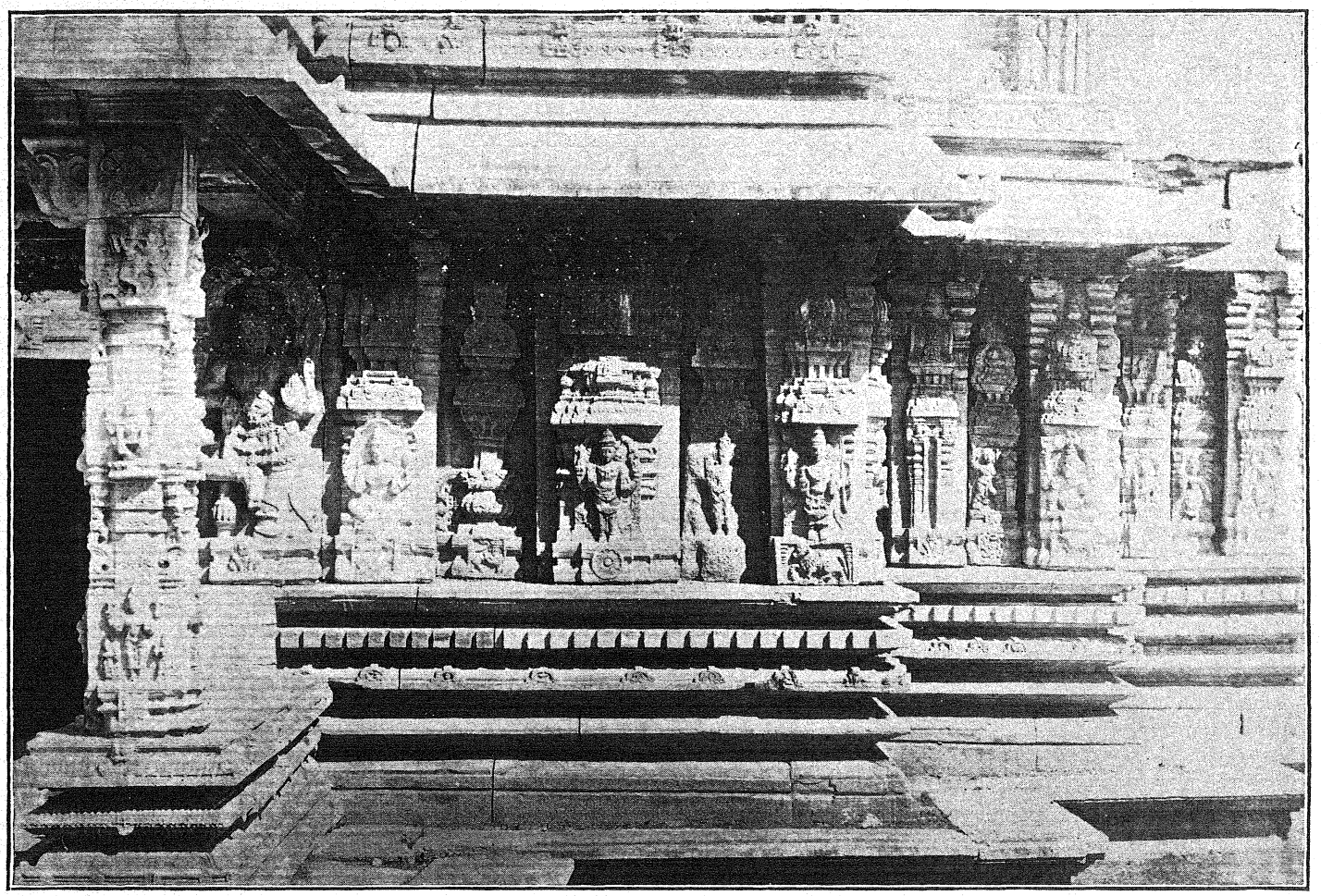
Śrāddha benefits, still as a matter of filial duty their sons are required to perform Śrāddha to them. This indicates that Pitṛibhakti (filial duty) is the main motive for the Śrāddha worship rendered to the ancestors. There is no denial of the theory that Śrāddha can benefit those ancestors that may not have obtained liberation at the time of death; but it behoves the son to perform the Śrāddha with Pitṛibhakti and not with an idea that he is conferring a benefit on the departed ancestors; for, when the dictum about the necessity for the intermediaries declares that the ancestors possibly migrating in mundane forms, and being therefore anīśa, unable to help themselves, are not in a position to confer boons upon their descendants, how can the son who is still in this mortal coil presume to think that he is able to help the ancestors. The helper is the Lord Himself and the performer of the Śrāddha must know that he is simply doing his duty.

We saw that the text of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* says that the intermediary fathers, namely, the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas confer all sorts of benefits and even Moksha upon the performer of the Śrāddha. No Vedantic school will admit that Moksha, liberation, can be obtained by merely performing the Śrāddha; it is the realization of Brahman alone that is the way to Moksha and the ritualistic works ordained in the Śāstras to be performed by persons in their different āśramas are to be performed for duty's sake and not for boons. This is the truth inculcated over and over in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The dictum of the Mīmāmsakas is:—'rochanārthā phalaśrutiḥ': that is to say, the rewards mentioned as accruing by doing the ritualistic works are simply to induce men to do those works which must be performed. Though the fathers may not be able themselves to confer boons on their descendants that perform the Śrāddha, still they can wish well of them and bless them, and their blessings can, by the grace of God whom they have realized, benefit their descendants spiritually and also better their happiness here so far as it is helpful to spirituality. The Vedic religion has no hatred to happiness in this world. Under it the householder wishes for good, strong and longlived sons and wealth, so that he may bring up his sons as dhārmikas, perform all his works both social and religious, realizing the Supreme Self at the same time and depart this world for the state of immortality.

The Śrāddha is performed on the anniversary day of the death of the father or mother, and so there is an element of sorrow in it; but this adds to its deep solemnity. In the Śrāddha the performer wears his sacred thread in what is called the *Prāchīnāvīta* form in all offerings to the ancestors, while in all offerings to the Viśvedevas he wears it in the *Upavīta* form.

It may be mentioned here that at the beginning of certain joyful Vedic Gṛihya rituals such as the son's upanayana and marriage the worship

of the fathers by the boy's parent is imperative. To distinguish this worship from the rather mournful worship of the anniversary day, it is called Nāndī-śrāddha, the joyful Śrāddha and it is performed in an abstract manner and by wearing the sacred thread in the *upavīta* form. The upanayana is the initiation of the boy to the study of the Vedas, making him a dvija, twice-born, and it is very appropriate that on that occasion and also on the occasion of his entering the state of householder by marriage, the blessings of the fathers who in their life studied the Vedas and then fulfilled their duties as householders should be sought for first of all by means of the Nāndī-śrāddha.



SOUTH VIEW OF VAIDYESVARA TEMPLE, TALKAD

TALKAD

By R. Narasimhachar, Mysore Archæological Department

[illegible] Talkad [illegible] Mysore [illegible] Cauvery [illegible] Kaveri [illegible] Kāśī [illegible] Dakshina [illegible] Kāśī [illegible] Vaidyeśvara [illegible] Pātāleśvara [illegible] Maruleśvara [illegible] Arkeśvara [illegible] Mallikārjuna [illegible] Vaidyeśvara [illegible] Dravidian [illegible] Śrīvaikuṇṭhanārāyaṇa [illegible]

THE TEMPLES AT TALKAD

[illegible] Vaidyeśvara, Pātāleśvara and Maruleśvara [illegible] the celebrated *pañcha-Śivalingas* of Talkad [illegible] Arkeśvara temple at Vijayapura [illegible] Mallikārjuna temple at Mudukuthore [illegible] north. The Vaidyeśvara temple is a Dravidian structure [illegible] in the Dravidian style of architecture [illegible] ornamented with sculptures [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

TALKAD

By R. Narasimhachar, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S.

In Volume II of this *Journal*, pp. 131–140, the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., has given an interesting note[1] on Talkad together with an English translation of a local Purana celebrating the greatness and the holiness of the place. During my archæological tour in the Mysore district I paid a visit to Talkad in February last and made some notes about the place, as also of a few places in its neighbourhood. These notes, embodying a few additional items of information about Talkad and the neighbouring places, may not perhaps be quite devoid of interest to the readers of this *Journal*. A brief account will also be given of the excavations conducted at the Kirtinarayana temple at Talkad.

THE TEMPLES AT TALKAD

The Vaidyesvara, Patalesvara and Maralesvara temples contain three of the celebrated *pancha*-(five) *lingas* of Talkad, the remaining two being in the Arkesvara temple at Vijayapura, about three miles to the east, and in the Mallikarjuna temple at Mudukadore or Bettahalli, about three miles to the north. The Vaidyesvara temple is a handsome structure, built of granite, in the Dravidian style of architecture. It faces east and has the outer walls ornamented with sculptures. The *dvarapalakas*, about ten feet high, appear to be the tallest that I have seen in the temples of the State. The sculptures on the outer walls consist of miniature turrets, pilasters and figures of gods, etc. There is a fine porch in front of the south entrance with two-sculptured pillars and two beautiful pilasters at the sides of the *dvarapalakas*. In the *prakara* or enclosure there are figures of Dakshinamurti and Sakti-Ganapati enshrined in separate cells. The latter is excellently carved and has its consort seated on the lap. Such figures of Ganapati

[1] I may perhaps be permitted to point out here one or two slight mistakes that have crept into the note. On page 132 Rev. Tabard, no doubt following Mr. Rice, has given the name of the principal *linga* of Talkad as Vedesvara and has likewise mentioned an image of Vishnu as contained in a tree which was worshipped by wild elephants. The correct name of the *linga* is Vaidyesvara. There was no image of Vishnu in the tree but only a *linga* at the foot of it. On page 133 the reign of the Ganga King Sripurusha has been assigned to the seventh century. This King ruled in the latter half of the eighth century.

are rather rare. A large unfinished figure of Subrahmanya is lying in the *prakara*. There is also a pretty well-executed sugarcane mill in stone which was formerly used to get sugarcane juice for the *abhisheka* or anointment of the God. The ceiling panels of the *navaranga* or middle hall have no carvings except the central one which is sculptured with figures representing the *lilas* or sports of Siva. In the *navaranga* there is a big seated figure of Sarasvati decorated with a large nimbus. The goddess of the temple, known as Manonmanyamba, is a fine four-handed figure, about five feet high, holding lotuses in two hands, the other two being in the *varada* or boon-conferring and *abhaya* or fear-removing attitudes. The *mahadvara* or outer entrance is either a later structure or has undergone renovation as evidenced by the fragmentary nature of the inscriptions on it. One of these fragments takes us back to the time of Kulottunga-Chola I (1070 to 1118). It is strange that the Vaidyesvara temple does not possess any older record, though the *sthala-purana* or local traditional account attributes a very great antiquity to it.

The Patalesvara and Maralesvara temples, which appear to have been recently excavated, are small plain buildings. A slab brought from some other place and built into the outer wall of the former temple contains a fragmentary Sanskrit inscription of about the ninth century A. D. The Virabhadra temple, situated to the south of the Vaidyesvara temple, is a pretty large structure. Two figures in front of this temple, standing one behind the other at an interval of a few feet with folded hands and armed with bows and arrows, are said to represent the hunters Tala and Kada after whom, according to the *sthala-purana*, the place was named Talakadu. The *mantapa* in front of the same temple is supposed to be built over the spot where the body of the wife of Tirumala-Raya, the last Vijayanagar Viceroy at Seringapatam, was cremated. It was she that uttered the well-known curse and put an end to her life. Only a few years ago the Anandesvara and Gaurisankara temples were unearthed. The former is said to have been built by an ascetic named Chidanandaswami, who was a contemporary of Hyder. A story is related of the ascetic that he once crossed the Kaveri in full flood seated on a plantain leaf and that Hyder who witnessed the miracle greatly honoured him and made a grant of land for the temple founded by him. An epigraph at the Gaurisankara temple informs us that the temple was built during the reign of the Mysore King Chikka Deva-Raja-Odeyar (1672 to 1704) and that the *linga* enshrined in it is *Mallesa*, though people now call it Gaurisankara.

Among the other temples at Talkad, the Vaikunṭhanarayana, which contained an inscription of the Chola King Rajadhiraja, dated in A. D. 1040, is no longer in existence, having been dismantled sometime back with the object of rebuilding it in some other place. Not a vestige of the temple is now left on the site. A small shrine for the god was built by some one to

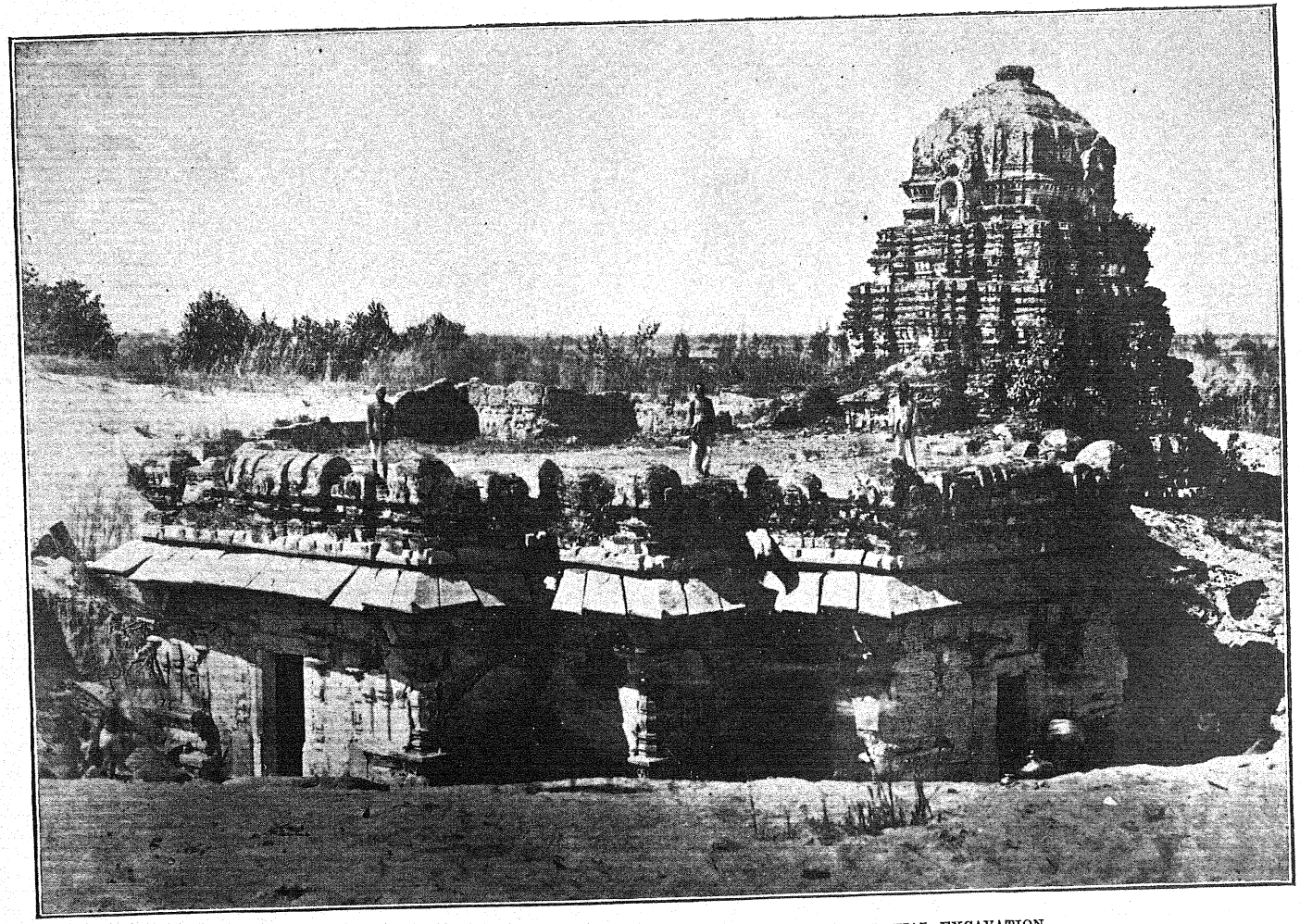
the north of the travellers' bungalow with some of the old materials, but being left in an unfinished condition by his death, the image is now kept in the Anjaneya temple. The site on which a Jaina temple once stood has now become a private garden attached to a house, the images having been removed to a Jaina temple in Mysore. An inscription discovered on one of the steps of the Madhavaraya canal in front of the Ganesa temple, which is dated A. D. 933, is the oldest dated record now available at Talkad, though an earlier inscription, bearing no date, of the same place, namely, T.-Narsipur No. 1, is now kept in the Jubilee Institute, Mysore. The Karibasava temple is a small structure situated near a Lingayat *matha* known as the Hattikeri *matha*. Several inscriptions of the place register grants to a temple named Rajarajesvara which is not now in existence. It was apparently founded by the Chola King Rajaraja or built during his reign. The large number of inscribed stones and architectural members of ruined temples strewn over the place and put to various uses bears testimony to the existence at one time of several more temples at Talkad. And it is quite possible there are also many buried under sand.

The Kirtinarayana temple is the only structure at Talkad built in the Chalukyan style of architecture. It is, however, mostly buried in sand, only the tower and the top of the front portion being visible. The sand near the entrances is removed on certain occasions, so that people may enter into the temple. The temple consists of a *garbhagriha* or adytum, a *sukhavasi* or vestibule and a *navaranga* or front hall. The image of Kirtinarayana, about eight feet high, is well carved and stands on a high pedestal. It holds in front a discus and a couch in two hands, the other attributes being a lotus and a mace. Such figures of Narayana are known as Nambinarayana among the Srivaishnavas. The pillars of the *navaranga* are well executed and all the beams without any exception are ornamented with either scroll-work or rows of animals or bead work. The ceilings are mostly flat and oblong, only four of them being deep and artistically executed. The *navaranga* has now only two entrances, one in the east and one in the north, with verandahs on both sides. It had also an entrance in the south with verandahs, but this has latterly been walled up and converted into a cell for the goddess, whose temple in the south-west of the *prakara* or enclosure lies buried in sand along with the *prakara* itself. The north entrance is known as *svargada bagilu* or heavenly entrance. The *navaranga*, which appears to have been originally left open, has subsequently been walled up with brick and mortar, thus concealing the inscriptions on the sides of some of the pillars. There are stout seated figures of Sathakopa and Lokacharya in the *navaranga*. The former was a Srivaishnava saint, also known as Nammalvar, who composed the Tamil hymns called *Tiruvaymoli*. The latter was a great theologian, who flourished in the early part of the thirteenth century.

It has been supposed[1] that an inscription in this temple, T.-Narsipur No. 3, lent support to the theory of the derivation of the word *Karnata* from the Sanskrit words *karna* and *ata*. But an examination of the record *in situ* showed that there was nothing in it to support the theory. The inscription merely tells us that Sarasvati-kaṇṭhabharana-deva was the name of the poet who composed the verses. The epigraph is engraved in beautiful Grantha characters; but it is to be regretted that an unfinished Kannada inscription incised on it renders the first line partly illegible. The tower of this temple, though built of brick, is in plan exactly like the stone towers of Chalukyan temples. The *utsava-vigraha* or metallic image of the temple has been removed and kept in a house at some distance for greater safety. A stone standing to the right of this house contains the inscription T.-Narsipur No. 5, which records a grant of land for some god. The middle portion of this stone from top to bottom, both in front and on the back, is rendered illegible owing to the oil, that is, constantly poured over it in the belief that some of the oil in contact with the stone, when rubbed on the abdomen of a parturient woman, has the power of inducing an easy delivery.

So far only the interior of the temple has been described, the sand dunes around the temple preventing us from getting a glimpse of the exterior. A close examination of the temple led me to think that there might be inscriptions on the outer walls and the basement, but these could be got at only by the removal of the dunes. The magnitude of the task to be done, the length of the stay to be made and the heaviness of the outlay to be incurred, all combined, however, to dissuade me from attempting excavations on a large scale in view of the problematical nature of the result. But an old servant of the temple assured me of the existence of an inscription on the steps in front of the east entrance. So I made up my mind to have this portion at least excavated. The work went on for two days, and on the third day a Kannada inscription was exposed on the steps. The top lines of a Tamil inscription also revealed themselves on one of the pillars. Encouraged by this result, I continued the excavations near the pillar till a portion of the inscribed basement of the temple was reached at a depth of about fifteen feet. The epigraph was in two lines and the exposed portion of the second line referred to the consecration of the god Kirtinarayana by the Hoysala King Vishnuvardhana. It was thus a record of high value historically and I resolved upon procuring a complete copy of it. The digging was carried on vigorously with a large number of coolies. Removing the whole sand was out of the question as it would involve very heavy expenditure. I, therefore, hit upon the plan of cutting a narrow passage by the side of the temple to allow of the inscription being copied and estampages prepared. But this was

[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, iii, *Introduction*, p. 18, *Translations*, p. 69.



NORTH-EAST VIEW OF NARAYANASWAMI TEMPLE, TALKAD, AFTER PARTIAL EXCAVATION

not an easy task, as the passage became refilled in a short time with streams of sand from the adjacent heaps. The work was, however, persevered in till the end of the inscription was reached near the north entrance. More than half of the record, which was to the right of the east entrance, had yet to be exposed. But very serious difficulties confronted us here. The sand dunes to the south of the temple were nearly fifty feet high and sloped towards it. No sooner was the passage made than it became refilled by the subsidence of the superincumbent heaps. Planks were used to prevent the upper sand from falling, but they were no use whatever. We had, therefore, to remove the whole of the upper layer of sand to the south of the temple before attempting to cut a passage. Water was also continually poured over the sand hill to prevent a possible slip over the coolies working below. In spite of these precautions three coolies were about to be engulfed in sand owing to the unexpected slip of a big upper heap. On several occasions the passage made with the greatest difficulty in the morning was filled up in the afternoon, so that the digging had to be done over again. In the face of these almost insuperable difficulties the work was proceeded with, exposing day by day further portions of the record, till at last the beginning was reached near the south entrance. Several more epigraphs also came to light one by one. It was necessary to be very alert in copying and taking impressions of the epigraphs or portions of them as soon as they were exposed, because unexpected slips soon blocked the passage, and we had to wait for hours together for a favourable opportunity. At the place where the beginning of the epigraph was revealed the sand bank was more than twenty feet high and with all our alertness and promptitude our attempt to copy the portion was frustrated more than once. It was indeed tantalizing to be in full view of the inscription and yet not to be able to procure a copy of it. Success, however, attended our persistent efforts at last and the inscription was completely copied. It tells us that Vishnuvardhana, having rooted out Adiyaman, the Chola Viceroy, and taken possession of Talkad, set up the god Kirtinarayana in A. D. 1117. This was also the year in which he set up the god Vijayanarayana, now called Kesava, at Belur. Tradition attributes to him the consecration of five images of Narayana at different places, namely, Belur, Talkad, Melkote, Tonnur and Gadag, though according to one account Gundlupet comes in for the honour instead of Gadag. Hitherto there was epigraphical confirmation of the traditional account with regard to only one of the places, namely, Belur. The present inscription bears out the tradition with regard to Talkad also.

After excavation the features of the exterior of the temple revealed themselves to the view. The temple is Chalukyan in style, though there are no sculptures on the outer walls. A railed parapet runs round the front hall with flowers in panels between single columns. At the north and the

east entrances are left on both sides only the bases on which two tower-like niches or pavilions once stood as at Belur and other places. The same appears to be the case at the south entrance also, though the whole of that portion was not excavated. This temple deserves to be fully excavated and conserved.

THE KOPPALA MAṬHA

THERE is a Smarta *maṭha* of the Bhagavata school at Talkad, presided over by a *sannyasi* of the name of Balakrishnananda-svami. A village named Koppala, a few miles from Talkad, belongs to this *maṭha*; and from this circumstance the *maṭha* is generally known as Koppala *maṭha*. The svami is said to be descended in spiritual succession from Padmapadacharya, the immediate disciple of Sankaracharya, the three svamis that came after Padmapadacharya being Vishnu-svami, Kshira-svami and Krishnananda-svami. In apostolic succession to the last, after a long interval, came Abhinava Balakrishnananda-svami, whose disciple was Balakrishnananda-svami. The disciple of the latter is the present svami. The god worshipped in the *maṭha* is Gopalakrishna. The agent of the *maṭha* showed me a manuscript containing the *Sthala-purana* and certain quasi-historical matters relating to Vijayanagar, the Talkad chiefs and the Mysore kings. He also gave me two palm leaves containing copies of two inscriptions which register grants to the *maṭha* by Madhavamantri and a Talkad chief named Chandrasekhara Odeyar in Saka 819 and 916 respectively. The former inscription is printed as T.-Narsipur No. 47. There is an *anikat* or dam across the Cauvery near Talkad, which is known as Madhavamantri-katte, the Madhavamantri who built it being supposed to be Vidyaranya. The manuscript referred to above contains a Sanskrit verse giving Saka 816 as the date of the construction of the dam by Madhavamantri, nearly 450 years before Vidyaranya's time. This Madhavamantri is most probably identical with his namesake mentioned in Sorab No. 375, Shikarpur No. 281 and the Goa plates,[1] who was not only a contemporary of Vidyaranya but was also like him a great Sanskrit scholar and a minister of the earlier kings of Vijayanagar.[2]

The Madhavaraya canal mentioned in a previous paragraph, which is drawn off from the Cauvery near the Madhavamantri dam, is said to have been made by Madhavamantri and named after him. With regard to the Talkad chiefs, the manuscript informs us that the first chief, Somaraja Odeyar, who received a few districts from Vidyadeva-Raya of Anegondi, ruled from Saka 785 to 837. It was the second chief, Chandrasekhara Odeyar, who is said to have ruled from Saka 838 to 915, seventy-

[1] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, IV, 115 and IX, 228.
[2] *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1909, para. 91.

eight years, that made the grant to the *maṭha* in Saka 916. Other Talkad chiefs are stated to have reigned for ninety-one, eight-six, eight-four, seventy-six, eighty-five and eighty-seven years each. The above statements are enough to show the worthlessness of such manuscripts for historical purposes.

'STHALA-PURANA'

It may not be superfluous to give here in brief the puranic account of Talkad as found in the manuscript of the Koppala *maṭha*. Sage Somadatta and his disciples were directed by the God Visvesvara of Kasi or Benares to go to Siddharanya-kshetra and perform penance there. On their way they were attacked and killed by wild elephants; and, as their last thoughts were about the elephants that killed them, became elephants themselves. Meanwhile the God Visvesvara, accompanied by Manikarnika, came over to Siddharanya-kshetra and abode at the foot of a *salmali* or silk-cotton tree. Manikarnika became Gokarna-tirtha, a pond to the north of the Vaidyesvara temple. Somadatta and his disciples, now metamorphosed into elephants, also came over to Siddharanya-kshetra by virtue of their former penance. Everyday they bathed in the Gokarna-tirtha, plucked lotuses from there and threw them at the foot of the silk-cotton tree. Two hunters, named Tala and Kada, who observed this, began to fell the tree out of curiosity, when a stroke of the axe following on the *linga* at the foot of the tree caused a stream of blood to flow from it. The hunters stood amazed, when a heavenly voice bade them dress the wound with the leaves of the tree. They did accordingly and the flow of blood ceased. Further, the blood that had flowed formerly changed into milk. As directed by the god the hunters drank the milk and instantly became members of the Pramatha-gana or Siva's hosts; and the place was thenceforward known as Talakadu after their names. The elephants did likewise and were transported to Kailasa, the abode of Siva, the place having thence acquired a second name, namely, Gajaranya-kshetra. As the god treated himself for the wound caused by the hunters, he became known as Vaidyesvara. The same god manifested himself as Arkesvara on the bank of the *uttara-vahini* (flowing northward) Kaveri and was worshipped by the sun; as Vasukisvara or Patalesvara on the bank of the *purva-vahini* (flowing eastward) Kaveri and was worshipped by Vasuki, the king of serpents; as Saikatesvara or Maralesvara on the bank of the *dakshina-vahini* (flowing southward) Kaveri and was worshipped by Brahma; and as Mallikarjuna on Somagiri or Mudukadore-betta on the bank of the *paschima-vahini* (flowing westward) Kaveri and was worshipped by Kamadhenu or the cow of plenty. These five *lingas* represent the five faces of Siva. Their positions are given thus:—Arkesvara in the east, Patalesvara in the south, Maralesvara in the west, Mallikarjuna in the north

and Vaidyesvara in the middle. The day on which a visit to the five *lingas* (*pancha-linga-darsana*) confers the highest merit is the new-moon-day in the month of Kartika (November-December) which must be a Monday, the sun being in scorpio.

A JATRE AT TALKAD

A *jatre* is a periodical festival held in honour of some deity. The *jatre* of the village goddess Bandarasamma is celebrated at Talkad in the month of Magha (January-February). Her temple, situated opposite to the travellers' bungalow, contains besides her own figure several other seated female figures which are said to be her associates. On the first day three country carts (*bandi*, the name of the goddess being also derived from this word) with solid wheels, adorned with flags, festoons, etc., are driven through the village with different pairs of bullocks yoked to them at short intervals. These carts are sacred to the goddess and are not allowed to be used for any other purpose. After the *jatre* is over they are preserved in some secure place to be taken out again only at the next *jatre*. In fulfilment of vows previously taken hundreds of people bring new pots and prepare *made* (i. e. rice boiled with jaggery) in the temple compound and the adjacent fields for the goddess. On seeing the carts they offer the *made* to the goddess and carry home the pots with their contents for distribution among the members of their families. On the second day thousands of people, also in fulfilment of vows, carry small torches in their hands and move around the temple in the small hours of the morning. The *utsava-vigraha* or metallic image of the goddess is then brought in procession. Meanwhile people have in readiness for sacrifice numbers of sheep, goat and fowl, and, as soon as the *tammadi* or worshipper of the goddess sprinkles *tirtha* or holy water on the victims, their heads are cut off and the carcasses are at once removed by the owners to their houses. All this takes place before sunrise. The procession with torches is a very fine sight. On the third day a large pit is sunk at some distance in front of the temple and filled with water. People dance in joy around the pit and throw their friends into it in merriment. This sport is kept up the whole day and the *jatre* ends.

PLACES NEAR TALKAD

TADIMALINGI is called Mayilangai or Jananathapura in the inscriptions. The Janardana temple at this place contains a number of Chola inscriptions in the Tamil language, the earliest being those of Rajaraja I (985 to 1012). One of the latter, which appears to be dated in A. D. 1004 and registers a grant of land to the temple, closes with the statement that the grant is placed under the protection of the Srivaishnavas. The mention of the Srivaishnavas in this old epigraph, engraved before the birth of Ramanuja-

charya (1017 to 1137), is of some interest in view of the remarks made by some scholars that the Srivaishnavas came into existence only after his time.

Mudukadore or Bettahalli has a temple dedicated to Mallikarjuna situated on a hill which is called Somagiri in the local purana. The hill is not very high, but the temple on it with its *gopura* or tower presents a pretty appearance when viewed from below. The *linga* of this temple forms one of the *pancha-lingas* of Talkad. In the *prakara* or enclosure is a *mantapa* known as *Chitra-mantapa* on account of the paintings on its walls, which represent scenes from the *Saiva-puranas*. There are also Kannada passages explaining the scenes as well as labels giving the names of individual figures. A *jatre* on a grand scale is held at Mudukadore every year in the month of Magha, at which many thousands of pilgrims from various parts of the country collect together. It lasts for fifteen days, during which period a Brahman from Mysore discharges the duties of the officiating priest, though at other times a *tammadi* of the Lingayat sect worships the *linga*. The image representing the consort of Tandavesvara is brought from the Vaidyesvara temple at Talkad and kept here for processional purposes during the *jatre*. On the last day a bull race takes place, the winner receiving a garland from the *archak* in the presence of the god. He has also the privilege of being taken to Sriparvata in the Kurnool district. Excellent bulls are brought from various places to compete in the race. The village contains a large number of *mantapas* built by charitable people for the accommodation of pilgrims during the *jatre*.

The Arkesvara temple at Vijayapura contains another of the *pancha-lingas* of Talkad. In front of the temple is a small shrine containing a figure of Surya or the sun with lotuses in the two hands, flanked by two female figures armed with bows and arrows. There is a ruined fort to the south of the temple. A huge mud wall there is pointed out as having once formed part of a store-house. A Ganga inscription of the ninth century was discovered here. In another part of the fort were seen two Jina images lying half buried in the ground.

The Gunjanarasimha temple at T.-Narsipur is a pretty large structure in the Dravidian style with a fine *gopura* and a handsome four-pillared *mantapa* in front. Near the *balipitha* or altar are two richly-ornamented figures on opposite pillars, wearing a beard and standing with folded hands, which are said to represent the Mugur chief and his brother who built that portion of the temple. A similar figure near the *mahadvara* or outer entrance is said to represent another Mugur chief who built the *gopura*. The god of the temple is known as Gunjanarasimha, because he bears in the right-hand between the thumb and forefinger a berry with its stalk of the *gunja* plant (Abrus precatorius), which is supposed to indicate the superiority of T.-Narsipur to Kasi or Benares by that much of weight in sanctity.

Tirumakudalu, situated at the confluence of the Kaveri and the Kapila, is considered to be a place of considerable sanctity. The Agastyesvara temple here is a large structure built in the Dravidian style. In front of it is a lofty *torana* or gateway over which stand at both ends two lamp pillars with the necessary appliances for lighting lamps. There is also at some distance another lamp pillar, similar to but loftier than the above two, with an iron framework on the top for placing lamps, which were once hauled up with iron chains found even now on the pillar though no longer in use. Agastyesvara is a *saikata-linga* or *linga* formed of sand, with a cavity at the top in which there is always some water which is supposed to represent the Ganges. When the cavity is filled, the excess water flows through an aperture below, which is called the *nabhi* or navel of the *linga*. The water is taken out of the cavity with a spoon and distributed among the devotees. It is said that sage Agastya, being desirous of worshipping a *linga*, directed Hanuman, the monkey god, to bring one from the river Narmada within a fixed period of time. The latter not having returned within the appointed time, Agastya fashioned a *linga* out of sand and worshipped it. Soon after Hanuman returned with the *linga*, and, seeing what had happened, flew into a rage and resolved upon rooting out the *linga* of sand. But his efforts proved of no avail, though a few marks of violence were left on the *linga*, the cavity at the top being one of them. The *linga* brought by him was apparently set up in another temple at the place known as Hanumantesvara. In the *prakara* there is a figure of Dakshinamurti, a form of Siva, seated in the posture of meditation with matted hair under a baniyan tree, on a pedestal sculptured with the figures of the *sapta-rishis* or seven sages, the attributes in the four hands being a rosary, a book, a serpent and a Rudra-vina (a kind of lute). In the Asvattha-Narayana temple the object of worship is a holy fig tree. It is said that the tree has been in existence from time immemorial and that it was originally worshipped by Brahma. Only one branch is now visible. They say that as soon as one branch withers, another puts forth leaves. The tree is surrounded by a large number of Naga stones set up by people wishing for offspring. These stones are fine specimens of their class, several of them having a dancing figure of Krishna or a *linga* within the top coil. In the *prakara* there are several images of Hanuman and a few *lingas*. One of the former is said to have been set up by Vyasaraya, a well-known Madhva teacher of the sixteenth century, who founded a *maṭha* at Sosale, about two miles to the east, known as Vyasaraya *maṭha* after his name. According to tradition he set up in all 737 such images in various places. The name Tirumakudalu is a corruption of *Tiru-mukkudal*, the holy confluence of the three, namely, the Kaveri, the Kapila and Sphatika-sarovara, the last being a pond supposed to be situated in the bed of the Kaveri.

A JATRE AT BANNUR

BANNUR is a place of considerable antiquity, being mentioned in inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries. A *jatre* in honour of the goddess Hemadramma is celebrated here every year. The goddess is a four-handed gold image, about fifteen inches high with glory, holding a discus and a conch in two hands, while the other two are in the boon-conferring and fear-removing attitudes. Tradition has it that the original image of the goddess was being worshipped by Vidyaranya who, on becoming a *sannyasi*, handed it over to a Vijayanagar King. But, about a century ago, the original image having been stolen, the present one was substituted. It is kept in the Taluk Treasury and is handed over to the party concerned at the time of the annual *jatre*. The *jatre* commences on the thirteenth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Magha and continues for five days. One curious incident in the *jatre* is worthy of note. The goddess is worshipped by the Brahmans, but, on a formal invitation attended with great ceremony by the Holeyas on the fourteenth lunar day, the goddess is taken in procession on the full-moon day to the Holeya quarters to accept the offerings of rice prepared by them with great ceremonial purity. The goddess is, however, purified by the Brahmans on the following day. This privilege of the Holeyas is said to have been procured thus:—The goddess had taken her abode at a place about three miles from Bannur, and, on being invited to go to Bannur, agreed to do so on condition that a head was offered to her at every step. Naturally people hesitated to accept this condition, but the Holeyas, nothing daunted, came forward ready to offer the desired heads; and as soon as the first head was cut off, the goddess, being pleased with the sincere devotion of the Holeyas, directed, out of her mercy, that tender coco-nuts might be offered in place of the heads. In this manner she was brought to Bannur. When directed to ask for a boon, the Holeyas begged of her to accept offerings of rice at their hands once a year. This was agreed to.

NOTES

Aspects of religious belief and practice in Babylonia and Assyria

THE American lectures on the history of religions, of which eight series have been issued, form a distinguished contribution to the study of universal religion. All the volumes are by notable and authoritative writers. Professor Rhys Davids writes on Buddhism: 'The religion of the Vedas' is written by Professor Bloomfield; and now Professor Jastrow publishes his lectures on Babylonia under the above title. We note with anticipation that the ninth series is likely to be published very shortly, and that the subject is 'The religion of Persia'. The series is not as well known outside America as it ought to be, and it is to be hoped that this scholarly and yet most interesting set of studies will soon find a much wider audience.

Fifty or sixty years ago, as Professor Jastrow remarks, all that was known about Babylonian religion could have been given in one lecture. Now the subject has given rise to a literature, and still there are vast stores of inscribed tablets in the various museums of the world waiting to tell their ancient story of the hopes, fears and passions of those who have given us the greatest part of modern civilization. It is worthy of note that the tendency among Assyriologists at the present time is to bring down the dates for the earlier periods by about 200 years. The great Hammurabi, e. g. whose date has for some years been firmly settled at about 2250 B. C. is now brought down to 1958 to 1916 B. C.

Perhaps the most striking section of this book is the chapter that deals with Divination. The Babylonians for long centuries were keen inquirers of the will of the gods, as believed to be expressed by signs, voluntary and involuntary, signs in the earth beneath and signs in the clear star-lit heavens above. Divination by the stars probably gave a zest to astronomy at one time, but on the whole it probably hindered rather than helped true knowledge. Hepatoscopy seems to have been very largely resorted to over long centuries without a break. The Divine being to whom a sacrifice was offered was believed so to identify himself with the offering that the reflection of his will toward the offerers might be found in the organs of the animal, especially in the liver. Both Aryans and Semites at the height of their civilizations use for 'soul' a word that also signifies 'breath'; it is clear that they identified the spirit with the breath. But there are clear evidences in language that at an earlier stage they identified the soul with certain other organs of the body, notably with the liver. There are several passages in the Bible where this identification is evident. It is not surprising that early men should believe the soul to reside in this the largest organ of the body, and one notably suffused with blood. Hence appears to have arisen the practice of examining the livers of sacrificial sheep for tokens of the wishes of the god to whom the offering was made. From the days of Hammurabi there has come down to the hands of explorers a model of a sheep's liver in which the organs are clearly marked, with explanations evidently intended for the instruction of the priestly operators. Etruscan civilization also shows a large use of this mode of divination, and this is one of the arguments used by those who advocate a close connexion between that civilization and the culture of the Mesopotamian valley. Whether hepatoscopy passed direct to Greek and Roman civilizations from Babylonia through Asia Minor, or whether it came to them through the medium of Etruscan culture, is still a much-debated point.

The ideas that were at the back of the burial customs of Babylonia are well brought out by Professor Jastrow. The same combination of burial and burning of the dead is found here as elsewhere in some early civilizations. There is room for considerable investigation both in Babylonia and in India of these methods of disposing of the dead. Whether buried or cremated the Babylonian dead were believed to be greatly comforted and helped in their immaterial existence by the devotion of the living in placing food and drink at their graves; and probably this motive is more active in India than we have been inclined to allow. Such a careful study as this of Babylonian ideas and customs is likely to further considerably the study of both early and contemporary Indian beliefs and practices.

F. G.

THE chronology of the Puranas is a matter of vital interest to students of Indian History. There have been many attempts at fixing this chronology and a few points here and there have been marked almost finally. The note hereunder is extracted from the preface to a work on this subject attempting a comprehensive treatment—by Mr. V. T. G. Kale of Bombay—as some of the readers of the Journal may be interested in it without having ready access to it.

S. K.

A New Purânic Chronology

1. That the Puranas were touched and retouched at various periods is a fact too evident to need demonstration. There is reason to believe that the Puranas have been tampered with sometimes with intention and on other occasions with ignorance. The earliest redaction of the Puranas seems to have been made about the beginning of the Christian Era when the Solar and Lunar dynasties were brought down to their last princes Sumitra and Kshemaka, who were succeeded by the Nandas and Chandragupta, after the Brihadratha line of the Magadha Empire. At this very time, some chronological facts seem to have been recorded in the earlier versions of the Puranas, which are not now extant, but which are referred to by the extant version of the *Vayu-Purana*-account, which, though the earliest of the present Puranic versions, is yet later than the end of the Andhrabhrityas, if not still later!

2. The *Vayu-Purana* gives the earliest tradition about the period that elapsed between the Mahabharata war and the coronation of Mahadeva or Chandragupta.

The verses run thus :—

महादेवाभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।
एकवर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पंचाशदुत्तरम् ॥ ४०९ ॥
प्रमाणं वै तथाचोक्तं महापद्मां तरं च यत् ।
अंतरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ षट्त्रिंशच्च समः स्मृताः ॥ ४१० ॥

वायुपुराण,

(Calcutta edition, ch. 37.)

'From Mahadeva's coronation to the birth of Parikshit, it is one thousand and one years[1] less by fifty.[2] *The authority for this* is that there is a tradition that 836 years passed from (the coronation of) Parikshit to the coronation of Mahapadma.'

The *Vayu-Purana bases its own calculation of (1001—50) 951 years* for the period between the birth of Parikshit and the coronation of Mahadeva, *on an older tradition* that a period of 836 years passed from (the coronation of) Parikshit to that of Mahapadma. This chronological fact, which is very important, is entirely lost sight of in the later versions of the futurity-accounts and thus later Puranics have misinterpreted these verses of the *Vayu-Purana*.

[1] एकवर्षसहस्रं is 1001 years and not 1000 years. Compare 'यजुर्वेदस्य एकशतशाखा भवंति ।' (महाभाष्य), where एकशत means 'one hundred and one'. Also आर्याष्टाशत (of Aryabhatta) means 'one hundred and eight Aryas' of Aryabhatta.

[2] Compare for similar rendering *Vishnupurâna*, Book IV, 25, Wilson's Translation, p. 230. That the words 'एकवर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पंचाशदुत्तरम्' may mean 'It was 1001 years *less by* fifty', may be shown by another quotation about the date of Sankarâcharya, recorded in a traditional verse, thus :—

चतुःसहस्रेद्विशतोत्तरे गते । तिष्येऽवतीर्णे भुविशंकरार्यः ॥

'Sankarâcharya was born in this world after 4000 years less by two hundred had passed of the Kali age' (i.e. after 3800 years had passed of the Kali age).

We shall now see how the *Vayu-Purana* bases its calculation of 951 years on an older tradition of 836 years:—

	YEARS
(1) Parikshit was born in the year of the Bharata war, and he was installed in the sixteenth year of his age. So, a period of fifteen years elapsed from his birth to his coronation	15
(2) A period of 836 years elapsed from the coronation of Parikshit to that of Mahapadma Nanda	836
(3) The writer of the above lines ascribed a period of a hundred years for the Nine Nandas	100
Total ...	951

So that, the total of 951 years is the period that elapsed between the birth of Parikshit to the coronation of Chandragupta, who succeeded the Nandas immediately. It is evident, thus, that the *Vayu-Purana* means by Mahadeva not Mahapadma Nanda, as misinterpreted by later Puranic writers, but Chandragupta the Maurya.

3. Thus we know without the least doubt that a period of 951 years elapsed from the Bharata war to the coronation of Chandragupta. Now, I have shown in the body of the work from Jain sources that the coronation of Chandragupta took place exactly in 312 B. C. This date of Chandragupta is not now disputed by Western scholars.[1] We can fix the date of the Mahabharata war as (951 + 312 =) 1263 B. C. exactly.

4. From the Yuga-Manvantara system *of the olden times*, we know that six Manus and twenty-seven and three-fourths Yugas had elapsed from the beginning of the Kalpa to the Bharata war. Pundit Rudrapattana Shyamasastri of Mysore has shown clearly that the Yuga in the Vedic period consisted of four years, before the five years' Yuga of the Vedanga Jyotish (period) was made current.[2]

I, too, have shown in the body of the work, from Epic sources, that the Yuga current in the Bharata times must have been a Chaturyuga of four years, each year being called by the name of the different Yugas; so that a period of 1839 years passed from the Kalpa to the war thus:—

1 Yuga = 4 years.
72 Yugas = 1 Manu = 288 years.
14 Manus = 1 Kalpa = 4032 years.

Now, six Manus and twenty-seven and three-fourths Yugas had elapsed from the Kalpa to the war; i. e. (6 × 288 + 27¾ × 4) 1839 years had passed from the Kalpa to the war. Thus we can fix the beginning of the Kalpa as exactly (1839 + 1263 =) 3102 B. C.

From this we can see that Kalpadi (कल्पादि) was misinterpreted by later astronomers into Kalyadi (कल्यादि) and that the date 3102 B. C. is really that of the beginning of the Kalpa and *not that of the Kali Yuga.*[3]

[1] See *Historians' History of the World*, vol. ii, pp. 475-81, and also Smith's *Early History of India*, where he thinks it possible that the Seleukidan Era of 312 B. C. might be identical with the Maurya Era of Chandragupta.

[2] See his *Gavam Ayanam: The Vedic Era* (1908), p. 128, etc., also his essay *The Vedic Calendar* in the *Indian Antiquary* from February, 1912, wherein he has conclusively proved from Vedic sources, that the Vedic Rishis knew different kinds of years and adjusted them by the system of intercalary days and months added at the end of a year or a cycle of four years.

[3] About the possible validity of the Indian date 3102, B. C., Professor Fergusson writes in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (Appendix A., p. 711):

5. The first Solar King Ikshwaku came into India and established his capital at Ayodhya in about 2600 B. C. The first Lunar King established his capital at Pratisthana or Prayaq, in about 2200 B. C. It was a thousand years from the beginning of the Lunar dynasty to the coronation of Janamejaya. (See texts quoted in pp. 276–7.) Many events of the date Kalpa 1000 are recorded in the Puranas which I have quoted at length in the body of the work. (pp. 276–7.)

Thus the Yuga-Manvantara system has furnished us with a key, wherewith we can unlock the closed chambers of the ancient chronology of India; and the verses of the *Vayu-Purana* have furnished us with good materials to fix the date of the Mahabharata war. I have given other traditions from the Raja-Tarangini, Chanda's Prithwiraja-Raso and Mishra's Shaha-Nama, which tend to confirm my date of the Mahabharata war as 1263 B. C.

6. The first verse of the *Vayu-Purana* quoted above was misinterpreted in both respects by later Puranics. The period was taken to be 1050 or 1051 years and Mahadeva was taken to be Mahapadma Nanda (see p. 184). But the earliest version of the *Vayu-Purana* seems to be the correct one.

We thus arrive at the following dates :—

B.C.	
3102	Beginning of the Kalpa and not of the Kali. Probably the date of the first arrival of the Aryans into the Punjab or it may be a Pre-Indian date.
2600	Ikshvaku ruled at Ayodhya.
2200	The first Lunar King ruled at Prayaq.
1263	The Mahabharata war was fought.
312	Coronation of Chandragupta.

Various other dates in the intervals are fixed, which the reader can scan, by a perusal of the quotations and figures in the body of the work. This is, merely, an abstract of my New Puranic Chronology, added to this work, in order to enable such as do not know Marathi, to have a bird's-eye-view of it.

VAIDYA TRYAMBACK GURUNATH KALE,
Panvel, near *Bombay*.

'Though it may not at present be capable of direct proof, I have myself no doubt that the date assigned by the Hindus for the Kali Yuga (3101 B. C.) *is a true date, though misapplied*; either it was the date when the Aryans assumed their ancestors had first crossed the Indus or the the date when they had first settled on the banks of the Saraswathi (सरस्वति) or the घोग्रा. It forms no part of any system subsequently invented and seems to be the only one fixed point in a sea of falsification.' We can now see that 3102 B. C. is the date of the beginning of Kalpa and not of the Kali.

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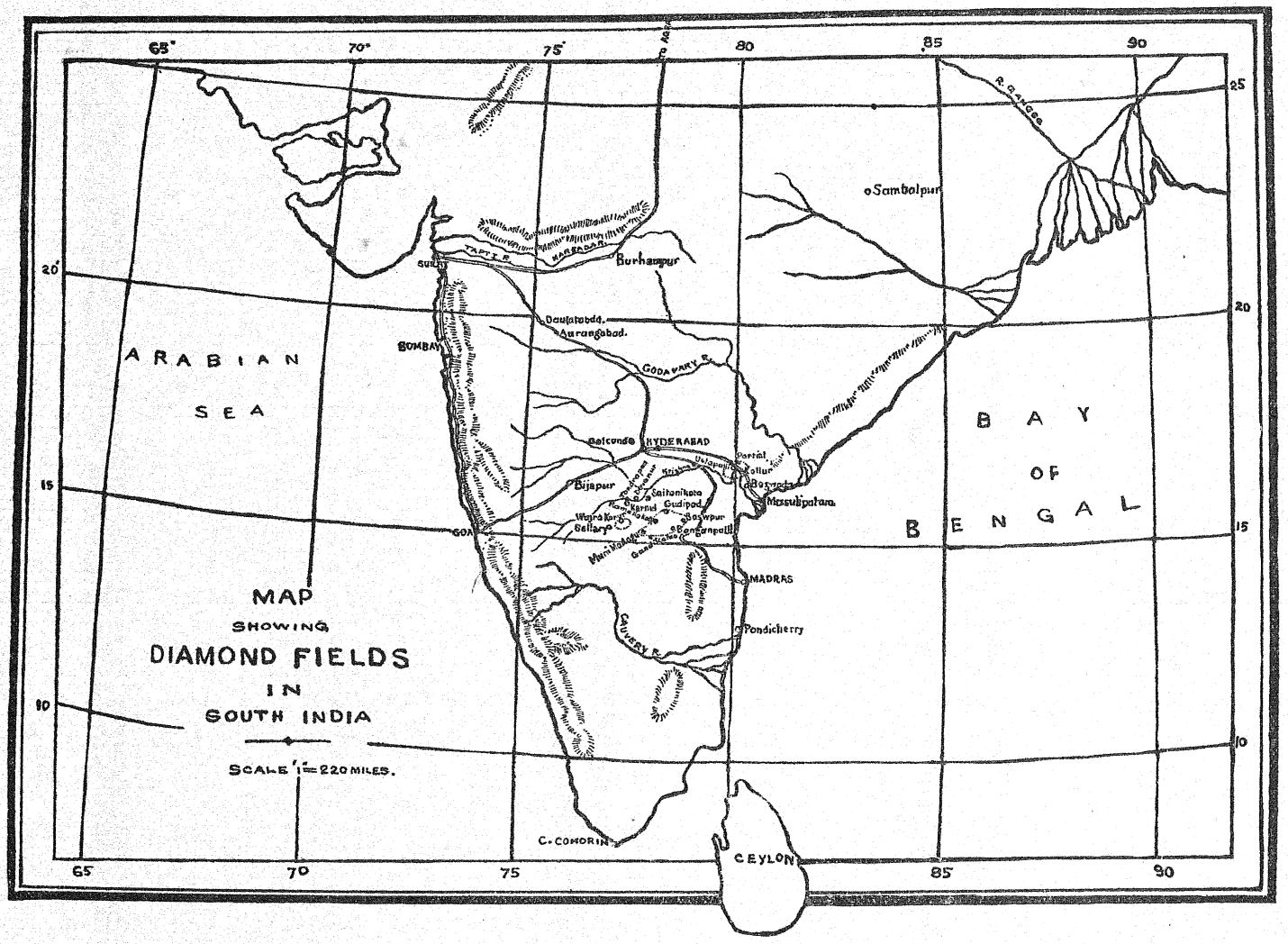
MAP
SHOWING
DIAMOND FIELDS
IN
SOUTH INDIA
SCALE 1" = 220 MILES.
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY
OF
BENGAL
BOMBAY
Burhanpur
Sambalpur
Aurangabad.
Bijapur
Gulbarga
Bellary
Cuddapah
Nellore
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20°
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10°

The
Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. III] [No. 4

'THE DIAMONDS OF SOUTH INDIA'

A paper read before the Mythic Society

By Mr. P. Sampat Iyengar, M.A.

I have been asked to read a paper on the diamonds of South India, but I fail to see clearly how a scientific subject like this comes under the purview of the Mythic Society whose ostensible object is to encourage the study of the science of ethnology, history, and religions. However as the term 'history' is all comprehensive I shall assume that this subject falls under that category and in order to justify that assumption I shall touch upon a few points of historical interest associated with the getting of diamonds in South India, the development of trade routes in connexion with that industry, and of the wars that have arisen out of cupidity for the possession of diamantiferous fields. The paper shall also include some of the stories fanciful or real that are always connected with some of the large-sized diamonds of India, and the part played by them in the estimate of the wealth of individuals and nations.

Origin of the term diamond

At the outset it behoves us to know the origin of the term 'diamond', the real nature of the mineral, and also why it has been considered the premier gem of the world. According to classical mythology the term 'diamond' is supposed to have had its origin in Jupiter, who transformed Diamond of Crete into that mineral for refusing to forget Him even though the latter was commanded to do so. Again the word 'diamond' is derived from the Greek word 'adamas' meaning unconquerable, and from the same root we have the words 'adamant'

and 'adamantine'. This unconquerable property of the gem is aptly brought to our minds by the expression 'diamond cut diamond'. Being the hardest mineral known (10 in the Moh's scale of hardness) it is not possible to cut the diamond with any other known mineral, and the lapidaries are therefore obliged to use the dust of the diamond alone in cutting and polishing diamonds. When properly cut and polished, the diamond has the surpassing property of dispersing light, that is to say it divides light into coloured rays and makes them flash fascinatingly into prismatic hues. This property called 'fire' is markedly noticeable in the colourless varieties and is scarcely apparent in coloured specimens. However the yellow-tinged stones have a greater brilliancy in artificial light than the colourless diamonds. The diamond is transparent to the X-rays, and this property enables one to spot out imitations which are opaque to the rays.

Nature of the diamond

In chemical composition it is the ally of graphite and lamp black, being only pure carbon. The adamantine lustre, transparency, its high degree of reflection and refraction mentioned above, its hardness and the consequent susceptibility to high polish, and above all its unique chemical composition—carbon—which prevents its being acted upon by either acids or alkalies, give the diamond its priority over all the other precious stones of the world. There are some like Mr. Edwin W. Streeter, who classify gem stones according to their rarity of occurrence or in accordance with the caprice of fashion. Hence 'pearl' which is not strictly a mineral, being the product of a shell fish, is given by him the premier rank among gems. But the majority of authors recognize the claims of the diamond to be in the forefront of all the gem stones.

Among the Hindus, both ancient and modern, the diamond is always regarded as the first of the nine precious gems (*navaratna*). The pure forms are styled *vajra* or *hiraka*. It is also called *iri* by the diamond miners of India. The impure varieties corresponding to the mineral 'bort' are called '*Rajavarta*' and '*Vaikranta*'.

The ancients preferred weight to brilliancy and size to effectiveness; and they always hesitated to cut several facets on the pure diamond. Hence at the present day we find several of the antique ornaments having diamonds of large size but not possessing beautiful dispersive power. To enhance the advantages of lustre the stone should be subjected to cleaving, cutting, and polishing. Cleaved smooth surfaces parallel to the octahedral crystal faces are presented by the diamond especially when a quick sharp blow is dealt to it skilfully. The object of cleaving is to remove faulty parts or black spots from the gem and also to bring out the facets in rough. Subsequent cutting and polishing gives the diamond its brilliant lustre. Louis de Berguem of Bruges (A. D. 1456) is said to be the 'father of the diamond polishing and cutting industry.'

In European countries the diamond was thought to possess miraculous powers of averting evils. It was credited with the power of averting insanity, and of rendering poison harmless. During the middle ages it was used largely to bring about peace between husband and wife, and was hence known as the *pietra della reconciliazione*. The Hindus were and are using the diamond largely in medicines. For this, the inferior variety of the diamond serves as a substitute for the costly diamond *hiraka*. It is believed that the diamond powder or *churna* prepared in a special manner and taken in small doses acts as a powerful alterative tonic, improving nutrition, strength, and firmness of the body. The large use made of the diamond in jewellery needs no special enumeration.

Uses of the diamond

The precious stones are always bought and sold by the carat—a carat being equal to 3·17 grains or about ·205 milligrams. The weight of a carat, however, varies in different countries. The weights of some of the largest Indian diamonds are as follows:—

Weight of the diamond

	When uncut (Eng. carats)	When cut (Eng. carats)
(1) The 'Great Moghul'	... 756	$268\frac{12}{50}$
(2) The 'Koh-i-noor'	... 186	$102\frac{3}{4}$
(3) The 'Orloff'	... ...	193
(4) The 'Nizam'	... 277	...
(5) The 'Regent or Pitt' ...	... 410	137
(6) The 'Grand Duke of Tuscany'	... $133\frac{16}{32}$	...
(7) The 'Akbar Shah'	... 116	72

When these weights are compared with those of diamonds found in other parts of the world, the Indian diamonds dwindle into insignificance. For instance, the 'Cullinan' diamond which is the largest in the world so far found had a weight of $3{,}253\frac{3}{4}$ carats or over $1\frac{1}{3}$ lb. avoirdupois. This is nearly four and a half times the weight of the largest diamond ever reputed to have been found in India.

A glance at the map of South India (Plate I) will show three distinct areas wherein all the diamantiferous fields known are located. They are—

Diamond fields

(1) Wajra Karur group near Bellary.

(2) The Kurnool group in the Kurnool district, which embraces the mines of the Banaganpalle State and the deserted mines of Ramallakota, Munimadagu, Baswapur and others.

(3) The Kollur group near Bezwada on the river Krishna.

Outside these limits there are only the Sambalpur and the Panna diamond mines in Northern India which have attained considerable fame in the production of diamonds.

(1) *Wajra Karur*.—The diamond mines of Wajra Karur, Bellary district, noticed as far back as 1610, appear to have been worked regularly by Tippu

Sultan; and in the beginning of the nineteenth century they attracted the attention of a great number of people. The matrix rock of the diamond in this locality is not determined with certainty. At the place where the diamonds are picked up, there is in the midst of the epidote granite rock a bluish tuff-like rock several acres in extent which resembles the 'blue-ground' of Kimberley. This is the only place in India where the diamond is found associated with an intrusive basic igneous rock. In all other localities it is found in sedimentary rocks such as sandstone and conglomerate.

(2) *Banaganpalle mine.*—The diamonds of this mine and of other mines in the Kurnool group are found in sandstone and conglomerate beds belonging to the Vindhyan formation. The mine at Banaganpalle was never famous for its production. At the present time a syndicate has been formed to work the mine.

Ramallakota.—The mines of Ramallakota (or Revallakota = diamond fort) are situated eighteen miles west by south of Kurnool town. The rock workings in sandstone are deserted and the alluvium is now and then raked up and searched for diamonds. During the time of Tavernier the Ramallakota mines were worked largely by the guzerati merchants who had settled there permanently. The beautifully-carved temple of Venkatasawmi, and the well and pond called 'guzerati kunta' attest to the interest taken in the place by the guzerati diamond merchants.

Munimadagu.—These mines are situated about sixteen miles west of Banaganpalle town. They were first brought to prominent notice when a guzerati merchant of Ramallakota in the seventeenth century purchased diamonds brought from Munimadagu. The governor of Gandikota, Pemmasawmi Timma Naidu, took possession of these mines and started working them on his own account. But owing to an evil dream he gave up the working, when a *Kamsali* of Banaganpalle went to Delhi and obtained a permit to work the mines under certain stipulations to be mentioned later on. The diamond mines were further developed by the guzerati merchants who took shelter here when the town of Ramallakota was besieged and taken up by Velugund Rau, a Mahratta chief. The result was an increased production of Rs 30,000 worth of diamonds. In 1751, owing to a boundary dispute, Murari Rau of Gooty interfered, took possession of Munimadagu and levied a large contribution. This interfered with the working of the mines. Again, before Govardhan Das who had obtained the lease of mining from Murari Rau could start the workings, the town was besieged and taken possession of by Ghumsa of Hyderabad, who however did not work the mines. It is related that Tippu Sultan when he took possession of the mines, started the workings on his own account and after spending 12,000 pagodas realized only 1,000 pagodas worth of diamonds. Later on when the old miners started the business the mines yielded an annual rental of only Rs 3,600. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the mines have been practically deserted.

At the present time the nominal annual rent fetched by the leasing of the mining lands is only Rs 40 or Rs 50.

Jammalmadagu.—These mines are eight miles distant from Gandikota. The Emir Mir Jumla while he was in the service of the ruler of Golconda, invested Gandikota in order to take possession of the mines.

Baswapur.—These mines located in the Nullamalais, Kurnool district, once yielded a few diamonds. Now they are completely deserted. Lead ore seems to have been unearthed in the vicinity of the village. Close by is Musalimadagu, a place which was famous for its diamond mines in A. D. 1590.

The other insignificant mines of the Kurnool group are those of Yembye, Gudipad, Saitankota, Deomurru, and Tandrapad.

(3) *Kollur.*—This is the Gani Coulour of Tavernier. According to him the mine of Kollur was located in a place which was seven days journey eastwards from Golconda. This works up to about 110 miles. The discovery of the mine is dated at A.D. 1545 when a native of the place while digging the ground to sow millet in his field found a pointed diamond weighing above twenty-five carats. He seems to have taken it to Golconda for sale. The rich merchants got wind of this find, and they started to search for diamonds at Kollur. They found several large gem stones weighing above ten to forty carats. It is reported that the 'Great Moghul' came from this locality. Several of the large-sized Indian stones which have become historically famous seem to have been obtained from the mines in the neighbourhood of Kollur.

That the mining operations were conducted on a large scale at Kollur can be inferred from the statement of Tavernier who reports that there were as many as 60,000 persons employed in the mines at the time of his visit in A.D. 1645.

Other diamond fields close by are those of Parteal group which include the mines of Oostapully, Moogalur, and Atkur.

In 'Mani Mala', a treatise on gems, Sourindro Mohan Tagore mentions the localities of diamonds known to the ancient Hindus. The list reads thus—

Ancient diamond fields mentioned in the *Mani Mala*

1. Haima.
2. Matanga.
3. Surashtra.
4. Paunda.
5. Kalinga.
6. Kosala.
7. Vena Ganga.
8. Saubira.

A similar list is also given in Brihat Samhita.

Of these the second locality 'Matanga' probably included all the diamond mines of South India described above. Marco Polo also refers to this same region under the name 'Mutfili'.

The earliest European account we have of the method adopted in obtaining diamonds in India is certainly that of Marco Polo. His story, however, reads like a fable and is very much akin to the fanciful story of Sindbad in the Arabian Nights (*vide* second voyage). Marco Polo relates what

he heard and not what he saw; and it is quite likely that the natives of India might have invented such stories and given expression to them in order to scare the foreigners away and to preserve the diamond trade in their own hands. Marco Polo's tale in brief is that the diamonds are found in abundance among the gravel at the bottom of rocky mountains, wherein there are large-sized serpents which prevent anybody from approaching the diamond fields. In order to win the diamonds, the merchants throw bits of flesh into the valley, which are then brought up again with the gravel and the diamonds adhering to it by the eagles. Such as search for diamonds watch the eagles' nests, wherefrom they pick up little gems dropped down from the flesh and from the droppings of the eagles. Another fanciful tale found in Hindu legends is also associated with the serpent. It is said that the cobra has the diamond in its hood, and that it is capable of detaching it whenever it pleases. At night when the cobra goes round in search of prey it is said to detach the diamond, deposit that in a place and look round with the aid of the gem's dispersive power of light. The wary man, if he chances to be close by, used to shut out the light by covering the diamond with a basket or cloth and thus prevent the cobra from obtaining possession of the gem. All these stories only give testimony to the rarity of the gem stones and to the difficulty experienced in getting possession of them.

Methods of obtaining diamonds *in story*

Passing on to authentic records we find the old method of winning the diamond was to excavate pits about twenty feet square and about four feet deep in the sandstone and in the gravel, to remove and wash the earth thus taken out in pans and to pick out the diamonds found at the bottom. Later on, the people constructed walled cisterns six feet square and two feet high for soaking and breaking large-sized clods of sorted diamond matrix. The gravelly stuff, thus washed out and freed from the adhering earth, was dried in the sun on a place made plain and smooth close to the cistern. At midday expert pickers rummaged the gravel and picked out the refracting pieces of the diamond. Tavernier's account of the diamond washings from personal visits to the mines between A.D. 1638 and 1665 coincides with the above description. In modern times the diamonds are collected in much about the same fashion—only we have machinery in addition for removing water from the pits. The diamonds are also hand sorted into various grades.

In authentic records

The people engaged in working the mines were a class of Balijas called 'Gunekara'. The profession was hereditary. Very often both the miner and the merchant went almost naked. The ordinary ryots (Vokkaligas) and the Comatis (Vaisyas) did not interest themselves in the diamond speculation. It was chiefly the guzerati merchants that were foremost in the enterprise.

Miners and merchants

The conditions under which they used to get the concessions to work in the Native States are curious and interesting. The *Bellary District Manual* has the following :—

(1) All diamonds of the weight of one pagoda and upwards to be the property of Government.

(2) On all others a royalty of two and a half per cent to be paid to Government.

(3) A monthly Nuzzar of one Madras pagoda to be paid for each mine.

It is no wonder then that such stringent conditions led to increase of theft in the mines, and that the person who was fortunate enough to find a really large-sized diamond tried to conceal it until he found a favourable opportunity to run away from the spot with the booty.

Each miner earned only three pagodas, i.e. about Rs 10 to 12 per annum. The money lenders with their usurious interest used to fleece the unfortunate indebted miner and merchant as well. Besides this, the excise was so high on all sorts of provisions—betel, tobacco, etc., the necessaries of life among miners—that the prices of all things were doubled. Hence living in the diamond fields was costly and wellnigh prohibitive. But the hope of a great hit—the finding of a diamond—was a strong bait which very often induced the miners to stick to the spot. Although conditions became more favourable under the East India Company's administration, the uncertain nature of the finds brought about the gradual abandonment of many of the mines in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The diamond industry

That the diamond industry was in a much more flourishing condition than now in Southern India is borne out by facts and figures. In the Chief Inspector of Mines Report in India for 1911, it is mentioned that there was only *one* diamond mine in the Kurnool district employing thirty-seven persons which produced the insignificant quantity of *three* carats of diamonds. Whereas Tavernier reports that there were several mines working at the time of his visit in South India chiefly those of Kollur and Ramallakota ; and that the number of persons working in the former locality were as many as 60,000 in 1645. The production of diamonds must also have been considerable, for we have an account of the payment of £5,000 (nearly half a lakh of rupees) to the native Rajas in 1770 as Nazzar only according to clause three of the agreement. Again it is said[1] of Mir Jumla, the Commander of the armies of Golconda, that 'he caused the diamond mines which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names to be wrought with extraordinary diligence, so that people discoursed of nothing but of the riches of the Emir Jumla and of the plenty of his diamonds which were not reckoned by carats but counted by sacks.'

[1] Bernier, *History of the Last Revolution*, vol. i.

The mines at Wajra Karur also have produced several large-sized diamonds. It is reported that a Portugese gentleman in 1610 spent as much as three and a half lakhs of rupees (1,00,000 pagodas) here in search of diamonds and not finding any was on the point of taking a cup of poison, when he discovered a large-sized diamond of 434·7 carats. Being overjoyed at the find and to commemorate it, the Portugese gentleman seems to have put up in Goa a stone tablet with an engraving on it in the Telugu language. The translation of it reads as follows:—

> Your wife and children sell, sell what you have,
> Spare not your clothes, nay, make yourself a slave
> But money get, then to Karur make haste,
> There search the mines, a prize you'll find at last.

On another occasion this mine appears to have yielded a gem of 1,362·6 carats; and in 1881 a gem of 67⅜ carats which fetched a value of Rs 12,000.

The mines at Munimadagu and at Ramallakota were also in a flourishing condition during the seventeenth century. Tavernier reports that he purchased at Ramallakota diamonds valued at £16,000, i.e. 40,000 pagodas.

From the foregoing passages it can be gathered that the production in the several diamond mines of Southern India was great during the seventeenth century, and hence the trade in diamonds must naturally have been very brisk. Tavernier used to visit the mines to purchase the diamonds not only for himself but for other Europeans also, such as the Dutch Commanders etc., of vessels, who were forbidden according to the Company's rules to embark in private trade of any kind. 'The Jesuit fathers of Goa and other places in India did a large trade in rough diamonds which they sent to Europe. In order to conceal this trade they used to send one or two from among their number in the garb of Fakirs or Indian pilgrims.' In his book *Travels in India* Tavernier has given a graphic account of the methods employed in disposing of the diamonds obtained from the mines. They were mostly sold at the mines or were sent on to the chief diamond marts of Surat, Goa, Golconda, and Madras for sale. When a person went to the mine to buy, the banian (the owner of the mine) used to go to him with a parcel of diamonds between 10 and 11 a.m. After the selection of the gem stone the bargain was concluded in silence and without any one speaking, by the seller and buyer holding each others right hand in a peculiar manner under cover of a cloth usually the waistband. As soon as they came to an agreement an order for payment was made on the shroff, who issued and received bills of exchange. Sometimes bills of exchange on the important trade centres, especially Surat, were issued. If the money was not forthcoming on the due date interest at one and a half per cent per month was usually charged. Further a tax of two per cent on all purchases was paid to the

Bargaining methods

king by the buyer. Very often the young children of the mine owners, merchants, and others conducted the purchases of diamonds.[1] They knew the valuation of all stones and also were able to discover flaws, etc., in them.

The Indians had a curious method of examining the stones in the rough and of judging the water of the stones, flaws, etc. Instead of using daylight, they examined the stones in the night time. They used to place a lamp with a large wick in a hole in a wall one foot square and by holding the gem between their fingers they were able to judge all its points. In this connexion Tavernier seriously remarks that the quality of the soil in which the gem is found has much to do with its water content. He says:

Indian method of finding flaws

'If the soil is marshy and humid the stone tends to blackness, if it is reddish, it tends to red, and so with other conditions, sometimes towards green, sometimes towards yellow, just as there is diversity of soil in the area between the town and the mountain.' How far this is true has yet to be investigated.

Again Tavernier gives a rough and ready method in vogue at that time of fixing the price of any diamond good or bad which has a weight of three up to 100 carats. If perfect in quality, the carat weight of the diamond is squared and the product multiplied by 150 livres = (£11-5-0), the approximate unit value fixed for a carat of this quality. The result gives the value of the diamond. If not perfect, the carat weight of the diamond is squared and further multiplied by 60, 80, or 100 livres,[2] the unit values for a carat according to the degree of perfection of the stone.

Valuation of diamonds

At the time when the diamond output in South India was large, i. e. about the seventeenth century, Golconda (Bhagnagar) was in a very flourishing condition, and it was the centre of a trade route from west coast to east coast, i. e. between Surat, Goa or Panjim, Masulipatam, and Madras. It is reported that Father Ephraim, a revered Capuchin, while on his way to Pegu from the west coast was obliged to pass through Golconda and Masulipatam. The latter place had the best anchorage in the Bay of Bengal, and it was the only place wherefrom vessels started for Pegu, Siam, Arakan, Bengal, Cochin China, Mecca, and Hormuz as also for the Isles of Madagascar, Sumatra, and Manillas. The road between Golconda and Masulipatam, which passed through the famous diamond mines of Kollur, was not in good condition for wheeled traffic; and Tavernier reports that he had to take his carriage to pieces in two or three places especially close to Kollur village. Merchandise was transported on pack horses and oxen.

Trade routes, seventeenth century

[1] *Vide* description in *Tavernier Travels in India*, vol. ii.

[2] A livre = 1*s*. 6*d*.

In order to reach the west coast at Goa one had to pass through Bijapur (Vijapur). Between Golconda and Surat there must have been considerable traffic. The road which passed through the towns of Aurangabad and Daulatabad allowed the passage of waggon traffic. There were no bridges over rivers, for instance at Nandiar in order to cross the Godaveri one had to pay as much as four rupees per waggon. Daulatabad was the place where passengers from Surat and Agra used to meet on their way to Golconda. It is stated that between Golconda and Agra there was no other route except the one through Daulatabad and Berhampur. Similarly people used to take a circuitous route to proceed to Madras. After leaving Golconda they had to pass eastwards through Tenara (not identified) and crossing the Krishna river in coracles they passed through Cumbum, Goodymetta, Gandikot, Vontimetta, and Tirupati. The now important towns of Kurnool and Cuddappa were evidently not so important at that time.

Between Goa and Surat there were both the land and the sea routes, and though it was dangerous to travel by sea owing to the attacks of the Malabari pirates the latter route was always preferred to the former where the roads were in bad condition and the travelling therefore was rough.

The trade in diamonds was conducted mostly at the mines as mentioned before. Very often the gem stones were sent to the chief diamond marts, such as Surat, Goa, Golconda, and Madras along these trade routes. The town of Surat was the place where all kinds of commodities that came from east and west whether by land or by sea found a ready sale. Goa had the largest trade in all Asia in diamonds and other precious stones, for there the miners and merchants had full liberty to sell. Whereas in their own country they were obliged to part with the gem stones in accordance with the caprices and whims of their kings and princes. Golconda, the seat of a powerful Muḥammadan kingdom whereat several trade routes converged, was also a busy centre of trade in the Deccan during the seventeenth century. Owing to its favourable situation close to the several diamond mines of Kollur and Ramallakota, the diamonds were sent to that place for sale. Hence the diamonds coming from that region were called 'the Golconda diamonds' although Golconda in reality never produced any diamonds. The town of Madras is also mentioned in connexion with the diamond trade. In one of the interesting lectures delivered to the members of the Historical Association of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, Mr. Dodwell refers to this fact as follows:— 'A branch of the trade of Madras (about 1672) was the diamonds produced at Golconda. Madras had been the regular centre for all diamonds exported from India.' Edwardo Barbessa, a traveller during Krishna Raja's reign in 1516, speaks of Vijianagar also as a place of 'great extent, highly populous and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds.'

Diamond trade centres

From the earliest ages precious stones have powerfully attracted mankind. 'Jewels have been the gifts and ransom of kings, the causes of devastating wars, of the overthrow of dynasties, of regicides, of notorious thefts, and of innumerable crimes of violence.' Indian history furnishes several instances of the cupidity of man in waging war with one another for the possession of rich diamond fields. Here I shall recount a few of the many instances that we have of such a nature: (*a*) in A.D. 1425 Ahmud Shah Wully Bahmany waged war with the Zemindar of Mahoor to obtain possession of the diamond mine at Kullum (Gondwana territory);[1] (*b*) in 1590 Mahamod Quli Qutb crossed the Kṛishṇa near Sangameswaram and attacked the fort of Musalimadagu on its right bank a place then famous for its diamond mines; (*c*) Mir Jumla, the commander of the forces of the king of Golconda waged war with the Nawab of Gandikota in 1652, took possession and worked the diamond mines of Jalumadgu close by. He also captured Wajra Karur mines in 1640; (*d*) again Munimadgu and Ramallakota, the famous diamond mines have changed hands several times as mentioned before; (*e*) in the latter half of the eighteenth century Tippu Sultan took possession of several diamond mines, and it is reported that he started on his own accord to work the mines of Munimadgu and Wajra Karur; and (*f*) the stories connected with some famous diamonds, such as the Kohinoor, the Pitt, and the Hope, furnish instances of the gifts of kings and of the innumerable crimes of violence perpetrated by individuals.

Diamond fields and wars

In connexion with the precious stone a fresh line of inquiry, which will please not only the historian or the scientist but also the general reader who loves the strange and the romantic, can also be instituted. There are always tales of fact or fiction associated with the large-sized Indian diamonds, and a perusal of the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* will give the readers the complete history of such diamonds, their weights in the rough and also when cut, the prices that they fetched at the several stages, the names of owners and other interesting details. For the purpose of the present report an enumeration of the Indian diamonds both uncoloured and coloured and the localities where they are supposed to have been found will be made.

Some famous gems

A. Uncoloured stones.—(1) *The Great Moghul.*—According to Tavernier this was the stone presented by the Emir Mir Jumla to Shah Jahan. It is said to have been found in the Kollur mines (east of Golconda). This gem was seen by Tavernier in 1665 among the jewels possessed by the Emperor Aurangzeb.

(2) *The Kohinoor.*—Now in the crown jewels of England. It is supposed by some to have formed part of the 'Great Moghul' stone at one time.

[1] Ferishta, *History of the Muhammadan Power in India.*

Some others regard it as a separate stone altogether which came into the possession of Baber during the capture of Agra, from thence passed on to Nadir Shah, Ranjit Singh and to Queen Victoria. Others again consider the 'Great Moghul', the 'Baber', and the 'Kohinoor' all to be identical. The probabilities are very much in favour of the first supposition,[1] and hence the Kollur mine must be credited with the production of this famous stone.

(3) *The Orloff.*—This is also supposed to have come from the chips of the 'Great Moghul'. At this distant date it is difficult to trace out the origin and relationship of the famous diamonds with one another since the several stories told about them have got mixed up. The 'Orloff' diamond now adorns the Russian crown jewels.

(4) *The Regent or the Pitt diamond.*—This has a wonderful history associated with it. A slave seems to have found it in the Parteal mines on the Krishna river in 1701. In order to secure it for himself he cut a hole in the calf of his leg and concealed it in the wound itself. Others say in the bandages to the wound. When he ran away to the coast he met an English skipper to whom he confided the secret of his find. The English skipper took him on board his ship and having obtained possession of the gem threw the unfortunate slave overboard. The skipper sold it to a dealer from whom Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George, purchased it for a sum of £20,400. It passed thence to the Regent of France and on to the French crown jewels.

(5) Other smaller stones of fame are the 'Nasik' (with the Duke of Westminster), 'Akbar Shah' (now with the Gaekwar of Baroda), 'Nizam' (with the Nizam of Hyderabad), and the 'Great Table' (with the Shah of Persia). The last was observed at Golconda by Tavernier in 1642, and it is quite likely that it was found in the Kollur group of mines.

B. Coloured stones.—Among the coloured stones the 'Hope' diamond blue in colour, the 'Dresden green' apple green in colour, and the 'Florentine' pale yellow in colour, may be mentioned. There is no doubt that all these had their origin in India but wherefrom is not clear. The 'Hope' diamond, which has attained so much notoriety in consequence of the ill-luck it is supposed to have brought on the owner, is according to all accounts now at the bottom of the sea in the ill-fated 'Titanic'.

So far we were only considering individual diamonds found in recent historic periods. Besides these, in India there are several antique diamond jewellery pieces forming part of the wealth of temples. Their origin is shrouded in mystery, and it is wellnigh impossible to trace their history with any degree of certainty. One such is the far-famed *Vayiramudi* that lies carefully guarded in the Mysore Treasury and is brought to light—not of day but of night—once a year during the Melkote festival on the *dasami* day of

[1] *Vide* Tavernier, *Travels in India*, vol. ii, Appendix I.

the month of *Palghuni* (March). The diamonds in the crown are of large size and are composed of 'gems quadrangular in form', but being slate cut they do not show off to advantage. Their value must be inestimable. The legend connects this crown *Vayiramudi* with the crown encircling the Godhead of Vishṇu. It is said that at one time Sri Kṛishṇa—the avatar of Vishṇu, during his rambles came to Goverdhangiri and being pleased with the spot he thought of establishing himself there. When Narada Rishi came to that spot to worship him, Sri Kṛishṇa intimated his intentions. Narada Rishi then seems to have gone to Bali Chakravarti and after praising the grandeur of the *Kiritam* or the crown of the God Vishṇu, induced Bali to go in quest of the crown. Bali went to Vishṇu's abode and requested the God to part with the *Kiritam*. While Bali was returning to the earth with the crown, the powerful 'Garuḍa' not finding the crown on the head of God Vishṇu got enraged and soaring high in the heavens saw Bali carrying away the crown. Garuḍa waged war with Bali, conquered him and took possession of it. While on his way back to Vishṇu's abode he saw Kṛishṇa on the Govardhangiri hill, and being struck with the resemblance of the latter to Vishṇu he placed the crown on Kṛishṇa's head. This fitting Kṛishṇa perfectly well, Garuḍa is said to have worshipped him as Vishṇu. In this manner the crown of God appears to have come to the earth to stay and the wish of Kṛishṇa was also fulfilled. Later on Sri Kṛishṇa appears to have presented the *Kiritam* to the Melkote God.

'Vayiramudi'

Another legendary ornament is the *Vajrayuda*—the weapon of diamonds—belonging to God Indra. It is made to correspond with the lightning, and whenever rain is wanted on earth God Indra is said to strike the clouds with the *Vajrayuda*, thereby causing lightning, thunder, and rain.

In a country like India, where the diamonds at one time were unearthed on a large scale and where the mine owners like Emir Jumla were counting the production not by carat weights but by bags of diamonds, the present insignificant output of *three* carats! in 1911 certainly comes like a surprise. This beggarly output cannot be the result of the impoverishment of the diamond fields; and a country which produced almost all the famous diamonds in the world and which even to this day is yielding diamonds though on a small scale is sure to contain many more if carefully searched for. The South Indian diamond fields may still yield good returns if the mining operations are conducted on up-to-date scientific lines.

A NOTE UPON

Diamonds in South India

THE first systematic reference I have is in Kautilya's (Chanakya's) Artha Sastra written probably at the commencement of the third century B. C. Treating of the Treasury Superintendent and his functions he has reference to six kinds of diamonds classified apparently

according to localities of occurrence;[1] mines, streams and other miscellaneous places are given as their sources. They are described to be of different lustre[2] and of various degrees of hardness;[3] those also of a regular crystalline shape and those not so, of course described as inferior.[4]

In all their description there is nothing to warrant the inference that diamonds were artificially cut; but, perhaps, the fact that diamonds were used to bore holes in other substances makes it clear that lapidary work was not unknown.

Coming down the stream of time we have definite references in Pliny and the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, both of the first century A.D. It will be seen in the references from Kautilya that among the localities of occurrence mentioned there is not a place further south than Vidarbha (Berar and Khandesh); but in these geographers of a later period there is definite mention of diamond as an article of export from the ports of Bacare, Neacynda.

These are ports a little to the southward of Cochin and diamonds being among the articles of export brings it within South Indian articles of trade if not among the products of mining.

As we all know South African Diamond Mines are a discovery of the nineteenth century—nay of the last decades of it—and according to Sir G. Watt India was long the only source of diamonds known to European nations. There is so far no evidence of the transport of diamonds from Hindustan and as a matter of fact the diamond mines referred to by Kautilya are most of them in the Vindhyan regions. There are references in Tamil Literature to a country called Vajra Nadu located on the banks of the Son river known to the Greeks as Herannabades (Hiranyavaha) with the alternative Sanskrit designation of Suvarnavaha (Son).

Did the diamonds that were exported from the western ports of South India, come from the north or were they products of the south itself? It is just possible that they came from Northern or Central India, as another article of export from the same ports is described as 'spikenard from the Ganges.' This view is the more probable as there was a great mart of eastern trade in Chola Tondi as opposed to the Chera Tondi on the West Coast. The Chinese brought their cargoes as far as the Archipelago and perhaps even the Malaya Peninsula, whence the Malays brought it either to Ceylon or to the coast opposite. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that these diamonds may have been South Indian, as in fact other gems were, though there is no clear reference to the fact as such—so far known to me.

Pliny derives adamas, the word he uses for diamond, from a primitive and damas to subdue, and says that it is not found in a stratum of gold (a notion formed from the locality of the occurrence of the two substances in close proximity in the Son region), but in a substance of kindred nature to crystal, resembling it in transparency and its highly-polished hexangular and hexahedral form. (Diamonds are generally octahedral and Pliny may be pardoned the error having regard to the time at which he wrote and the Roman defectiveness in regard to their knowledge of diamonds.) He knows enough, however, to note that

[1] Sabhārāshṭraka found in Sabhārāshṭra (Vidarbha country); Mādhyamarāshṭraka found in the Central Provinces (Mahā-Kōsala); Kasmaka found about Kāsma (Kasi or Benares) country; Srikatanaka found about the Mountain Kalā; Maṇimantaka found near the Mount Maṇimān; Indravānaka. These six are diamonds—(Artha Sastra). According to the commentator, Magadha, Kalinga, Sūrpaka, Jaladayasa, Paunḍraka, Barbara Tripuraka, mountains such as Sahya and Vindhya, Benarese, the Mountain Vedotkaṭa, the country of Kosala and Vidarbha are the places where the diamond mines are situated.

[2] The various colours (or lustre) of diamonds are: that of a cat's eye, that of the flower Sirisha (Acacia Sirisa), the urine of a cow, the bile of a cow, Sphatika (calc spar), the flower of Malati, etc.

[3] The best diamond has the following properties: big, heavy, hard (praharasahana, capable of bearing blows), samakona (regular in shape), bhājanalekha (capable of scratching upon the surface of metallic vessels), kubhrāmi (refractive of light) and brilliant.

[4] Those without regular angles, uneven and bent on one side are inauspicious.

these were turbinated in shape and, to his astonishment, resemble cones set base to base. He knew them in size as large as a hazel-nut. In regard to its hardness he wondered that it set at naught the two most violent agents of nature, fire and iron. He is simple enough, however, to retail the story that the diamond yielded to the blood of a he-goat when it was fresh and when the diamond was fully submerged in it.

Tavernier, the latter half of the seventeenth century, marks three divisions of diamond fields in his time—

(i) The southern group dealt with by Mr. Sampat Iyengar, i.e. districts of Kadapa, Bellary, Karnul, Krishna, Godaveri (Golkonda, etc.).

(ii) The middle group—Mahanadi valley, districts of Sambalpur and Chanda.

(iii) Vindhyan conglomerates near Panna still worked.

The second group ought to be regarded as partly South Indian at any rate and that, includes the country of Vidarbha of the ancients; and that certainly is the only southern name that occurs in the list quoted by Mr. Sampat Iyengar for the Manimala. Not much was known of this region in the days of Chandragupta and the ordinary description of it as Mahakantara (great forest) would preclude any knowledge of this part. Further the main arteries of communication between the north and the south appear to have avoided the central region and went close to either coast generally, though the sea way would appear to have been the most familiar. In the days of Andhra ascendency, however, there is not the same justification for presuming ignorance of the localities here, and there seems to have been considerable activity in this region in search for gems, among them diamonds, as the names Ratnagarh, Manikgarh and Vajragarh would indicate. The last at any rate figures largely among possessions much contested towards the end of the first millennium after Christ.

Nicolo Conti in the fifteenth century retails the story as regards the queer method of obtaining diamonds described by Marco-Polo and Garcia-de-Orta (A.D. 1563) refers to the mines of Bisnagar (Vijayanagar) and Deccan (Deccem).

The story of poisonous snakes guarding treasure and infesting places where diamonds and other precious stones are found is the common stock in trade of story makers; and some such story is always heard in connexion with every precious commodity. That is not all. The diamond is said to possess virtues of a very extraordinary character, apart from those of its physical properties. The wearer of the diamond according to Sir John Mandeville, was proof against the witch and enchanter; it protected him against maladies and fiends and poisons, etc.[1]

It is clear from all this that diamonds in South India are not products of the mediaeval and modern periods alone—at least there is the clearest evidence that the trade in diamonds was not: although, if it be true of diamond mining, the operations might have been comparatively speaking small. In fact it might have been that the diamonds picked up on the surface or quarried at great difficulty in one place or two would have constituted great wealth as could not easily be destroyed. If however, as Mr. Sampat Iyengar stated, the present day output should turn out very small it would be quite natural seeing that the trade has

[1] Sir John Mandeville :—

'He that beareth the diamond upon him it giveth him hardiness and manhood, and it helpeth the limbs of the body whole. It giveth him victory of his enemies in plea and war, if his cause be rightful. And if any cursed witch or enchanter should bewitch him, all that sorrow and mischance shall turn to himself through virtue of that stone. And no wild beast dare assail the man that beareth it on him. And it healeth him that is lunatic, and them that the fiend pursueth or travaileth. And if venom or poison be brought in presence of the diamond, anon it begineth to wax moist and for to sweat. . . . Nathles it befalleth often time that the good diamond loseth his virtue by sin, and for incontinuence of him that beareth it. And then it is needful to make it to recover his virtue again or else it is of little value.'

been going on for nearly 2,000 years and what is worse there has been immense destruction during the period of rival dynasties and bloody revolutions.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

THE note below by Mr. Prakasa Rau of Cocanada should be of interest to those who wish to know the true relationship between Queen Rudrama of Warangal and her immediate predeccesor. It is, therefore, extracted from *The Hindu* where the note originally appeared and needs no further apology for its publication :—

There has been a long standing controversy as to whether Rudrama Devi was the wife or the daughter of Emperor Kakati Ganapati Deva of Warangal who died in A. D. 1260. The first writer who asserted that she was the widow of the deceased Emperor was Marco Polo. Local traditions handed down from generation to generation strengthened the belief. Kolachala Komaraswamy Somayaji, commentator of Pratapa Rudrayam interpreted passages in the poem to conform to the prevailing opinion. Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu, in his lives of Telugu Poets stated that she was the widow of Ganapati. Mr. Guruzada Sriramamoorthy in his biographies of Telugu Poets first shared the same view, but in a subsequent edition of his book admitted that he was in the wrong. The history of the Velugoti Family published in 1911 contains the same statement.

Dr. Hultzsch, in publishing an inscription found at Conjeevaram, came to the conclusion that Rudrama Devi was the daughter, but not the widow of Ganapati. It would appear that Ganapati having no male issue, treated his daughter as his son and called her by a masculine name. In fact, she is said to have held her court and transacted business in the guise of a man. In the lists of antiquities Volume I published by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S., it is stated that there is an inscription on stone in front of a temple in Kakani, a village in the present Guntur district, which goes to prove that Rudrama Devi was the daughter of the Emperor. Mr. Chilukuri Virabhadrarow Pantulu, now engaged in writing a History of the Andhras, states on page 904 of the second volume, that the work in a verse in the old poem on Velugoti Family (ಸುತೆಕ್ಕಂ) was corrected in the subsequent edition into (ಸುತೆಕ್ಕೆ) to correspond with the prevailing belief. In support of the point which Mr. Virabhadrarow had laboured to establish in chapter xii of his monumental work above referred to, he quoted some slokas from an inscription on a stone pillar in front of the temple of Visweswara in Malkapur, a Shrotriam Agraharam in the Mangalagiri division of the Guntur district, which conclusively establishes that she was the daughter but not the wife of Ganapati. The sloka says that just as Lakshmi was born in the ocean, Rudrama Devi was born to Ganapati Deva.

In a copperplate inscription, dated Saka era 1345, which has not yet been published but which has been lent to me by a friend for perusal, it is noted that Rudrama Devi is the *daughter* as asserted by Mr. Ch. V. Row. It is an inscription of seventy-six slokas engraved on seven sides of five plates in all, bound by a ring mounted with a bull, sun and moon. It records the gift of Kalavacherla, in the Rajamandry taluk, to one Brahmin physician on the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of Sravana of Sobhakrit year corresponding to Saka year 1345 by one Ani Talli, daughter of Vema. I shall quote the particular sloka which finally sets at rest the dispute as to Rudrama Devi's relationship to Ganapati Deva 'Pitaryuparate tadwad araksha dakhilam kshitim, Virarudrama deveeti, duhita mahita gunyhi.' After the death of her father his daughter Vira Rudrama Devi of virtuous qualities ruled the earth like her father.

III

HISTORY OF THE SYRIAN CHURCH

AFTER the death of the Apostles, there were guides and rulers in the churches; and whatsoever the Apostles had committed to them, they taught the multitudes all their lives. At their deaths they transmitted to their disciples what they had received—also what James had written from Jerusalem, and Simon from the city of Rome, and John from Ephesus, and Mark from Alexandria, and Andrew from Phrygia, and Luke from Macedonia, and Judas Thomas from India, and that the epistle of an Apostle might be received and read in the churches in every place like those triumphs of their acts which Luke wrote are read.[1] It is said that India and all its own countries, and those bordering on it, received the Apostle's hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas who was guide and ruler in the church which he built and ministered there.[2]

The Syrian Christians have traditions to the effect that St. Thomas ordained priests from two families of his own converts, namely, Sankarapuri and Pālamottam. The former family is now extinct, and the latter continued to exist down to the last century supplying to the church archdeacons in the Portuguese, and bishops in the Dutch periods.[3]

Traditions regarding the continuance of the priesthood after the death of the Apostle are conflicting. According to one account, after the death of the priests ordained by the Apostle, the church had only laymen, and no sacrament except baptism. According to another, presbyter laid hands on presbyter and so continued the priestly office. It is also said by one Latin writer that the Apostle established eight archbishoprics, of which Malabar was one.[4]

There is still another account that the Syrian Christians, after the death of the Apostle, went on for a century or more worshipping in their own churches with the Dravidian liturgy and their own local priests; but gradually the Persian Christians who traded in these parts substituted their own

1 *Thomas the Apostle of India*, by Bishop Medlycot, pp. 34–5.
2 Ancient Syriac Documents.
3 *Travancore State Manual*, p. 137.
4 Ibid.

liturgical formularies for the Dravidian liturgy explaining that Syriac was the language of the Lord Himself, and that St. Thomas framed their own liturgy in his own language, Syriac. The Madras churches yielded to those introductions, but the churches in Malabar took some time. Meanwhile priests began to come from Persia and became incumbent on these churches. By A. D. 505 the churches on both sides of the peninsula lost their Dravidian liturgy.[1]

Mention is also made by some Portuguese writers about the persecution of Christians at Mailapur after the death of the Apostle and about the flight of the survivors thence to the Malabar Coast to join their Christian brethren there. There were also the apostates (Mani-grāmakkar) that arose from the preachings of Mānikka Vāchakar.[2]

Regarding the history and government of the Syrian church during the first few centuries, there is no authentic information. Reference is made to Frumentius with episcopal authority in South India about A. D. 325[3] and this is denied by Hough who states that the bishop was in Ethiopia and not in India.[4] At the Nicene Council A. D. 325 one of the bishops present signed the decrees as John Bishop of Persia and Great India.

Of this bishop nothing is known except that he was a Persian bishop, and that his diocese might be near the River Indus. Catholics believe that he was a Syro-Chaldean Bishop, and that the ancient apostolic church of India had Syro-Chaldean Bishops and Syro-Chaldean liturgy before the arrival of the Syrian colony headed by Thomas Cana in India in A. D. 345. This colony had only reinforced the Christian community already in existence in Malabar, but did not give to the community either the title Syrian or Syriac liturgy. From this it may be seen, that the early Christians had been reinforced by the refugees from Mailapur and by the followers of Thomas Cana and others.

When the Syrian church emerges into history it is known as the Nestorian branch of the Asiatic church. Nestorius who was a Syrian by birth, was educated at Antioch, where, as presbyter, he became celebrated during his youth, for his asceticism, orthodoxy and eloquence. On the death of Sisinnius, Patriarch of Constantinople, this distinguished preacher of Antioch was appointed to the vacant See by the Emperor Theodosius II and was consecrated Patriarch in A. D. 428. In the fifth century the question as to how the two natures are united in Christ, called forth two disturbing heresies on the dogma of the redemption, the germ of which had been already laid in early times, as there had ever been opposing tendencies on the above-named question between the Alexandrians and the Antiochians.

[1] *A Short Life of St. Thomas, the Apostle of India*, Madras, 1906, pp. 52–3.
[2] *Travancore State Manual*, p. 138.
[3] Ibid.
[4] *Christianity in India*, by Hough, II. 62–8.

Theodore of Mopsuestia, a scholar of Antioch, relying on the duality of natures in Christ, was led to suppose also two persons in him, whose natures he supposed united by an exterior bond, while to each he ascribed a peculiar subsistence proper to itself alone, so that it was in a figurative sense that Christ could be called one person.

These false principles were adopted by Leporius, a monk of Massilia, in Gaul (A. D. 426); but they were vigorously promulgated by Nestorius. He maintained that in Jesus Christ there were two persons:—a human person born of Virgin Mary; and the divine person that is the eternal word. In consequence of this error he denied to the Blessed Virgin, the title of *Theotokus* or Mother of God contrary to the Catholic doctrine which confesses Mary to be the Mother of the Divine person in whom are intimately and indissolubly united by what is called the *hypostatic* union, the divine and human person. For this he was condemned and excommunicated by the third Oecumenical Synod at Ephesus A. D. 431. Nestorianism was soon suppressed in the Roman Empire. The Emperor Zeno ordered Syrus Bishop of Edessa to purge the diocese of that heresy (A. D. 489), and the Nestorians were forced to seek refuge across the Roman boundaries into Persia. Teachers and students migrated into Persia where they founded a school in Nisbis, which for a long time enjoyed considerable celebrity. They found refuge and protection with Thomas Barsumas, Bishop of Nisbis, who spread Nestorianism in Persia. Favoured by the Persian kings the number of the adherents continued to increase. At last at a Synod held in Seleucia A. D. 498, the Persian church wholly separated from the orthodox church in the Roman Empire and adopted the name of the Chaldean Christians. Their Patriarch bore the title of *Yazelich*. From Persia the Nestorian church spread to India, where its adherents are called St. Thomas Christians. They spread as far as China.[1]

'It is quite certain,' says Bishop Medlycot, 'that at the time of the visit of Cosmos to India (A. D. 530 to 535) all these churches as also the church in India were holding the Nestorian doctrine of their bishops and priests.' Nor should this historical fact cause surprise, when we take into consideration, the opportunities, the bold attitude and the violent measures adopted by the promoters of this heresy after expulsion from the Roman Empire.

In A. D. 530 to 535, there was a Nestorian prelate consecrated in Persia presiding at Kalyan over her future destiny. In A. D. 630 to 660, Jesuab of Adiabene claimed authority over India, and reproached Simeon of Rivardshir, the Metropolitan of Persia, and so deprived that church of her ministry. In A. D. 714 to 728, Saliba Zacha another Nestorian Patriarch raised the See of India to metropolitan rank. Again in 857, Theodoseus another Nestorian Patriarch raised the See of India among the exempted, which owing to distance

1 *History of the Catholic Church*, vol. i, pp. 178-81.
History of the Christian Church, by Professor Kurtz, vol. i, page 199-201.

from the patriarchal See should, in future, send letters of commission but once in six years. This ruling was subsequently incorporated into a Synodal Canon. Looking into the traditions of the St. Thomas Christians, it will be found that all their prelates came from Babylon the ancient residence, as they say, of the Patriarch or the Catholics of the East. It is further known and acknowledged by them, that whenever they remained deprived of a bishop for a long time they used to send messengers to that patriarchate for bishops. Sufficient proof of this practice has been given above; and, when discussing the arrival of four bishops in A. D. 1504, the Holy See was fully aware that the Malabar Christians were under the control of the Nestorian Patriarch. When Julian III gave Sulaka, his bull of nomination as the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch, he distinctly laid down the extent of jurisdiction which had been claimed and controlled by his late Nestorian predecessor.[1] Angamali is described as the last of the Nestorian Syro Chaldaic Church and Mar Abraham is said to be the last of the Nestorian bishops of Angamali. 'We are quite ready,' says Father Dahlman, 'to believe that the Nestorianism during long periods was latent and probably unconscious, and also that a good deal of animus, with which zeal for the purity of the faith had little to do, was shown against the Malabar bishops by the Portuguese of Goa. None the less, there seems to us no sufficient evidence of the preaching of St. Thomas in this part of India, and in default of this, the probabilities are in favour of the fact that the Christian community on these coasts was of Nestorian origin. The Nestorianism of Si-Nagau-Fou inscription in the heart of China is now no longer disputed, and the ancient Seventh Century Crosses at Kottayam and Mailapur with their Pahlavi lettering are suggestive of some similar influences.'[2]

'Another kind of heresy that found its way to India was that of Eutyches, a zealous adherent of Cyril in opposition to Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in A. D. 431. But Eutyches in opposing the doctrine of Nestorius went beyond Cyril and others, and affirmed, that after the union of the two natures, the human and the divine, Christ had only one nature the divine, His humanity being absorbed in His divinity. After several years of controversy the question was finally decided at the Council of Chalcedon in A. D. 451 when it was declared in opposition to the doctrine of Eutyches that the two natures were united in Christ, but without any 'alteration, absorption or confusion' or in other words in the person of Christ there were two natures, the human and the divine, each perfect in itself, but there was only one person. Eutyches was excommunicated, and he died in exile. Those who would not subscribe to the doctrines declared at Chalcedon

[1] *Catholic Encyclopedia on Nestorianism.*
History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith.
[2] *Dahlmann's Die Thoma Legende*, p. 63.
Christianity in the Far East (1) St. Thomas in India, August, 1912.

were condemned as heretics; then they seceded and afterwards gathered themselves around different centres which were Syria, Mesopotomia, Asia Minor, Cyprus and Palestine, Armenia, Egypt and Abyssinia. The Armenians embraced the Eutychian theory of divinity being the sole nature in Christ, the humanity being absorbed, while the Egyptians and Abyssinians held in the monophysite doctrine of the divinity and humanity being one compound nature in Christ. The West Syrians or natives of Syria proper, to whom the Syrians of this coast trace their origin, adopted after having renounced the doctrines of Nestorius, the Eutychian tenet.

Through the influence of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, they gradually became monophysites. The monophysite sect was suppressed by the emperors, but in the sixth century there took place the great Jacobite revival of the monophysitic doctrine under James Bardæus better known as Jacobus Zanzalus who united the various divisions into which the monophysites had separated themselves into one church, which at the present day, exists under the name of the Jacobite church. The head of the Jacobite church claims the rank and prerogative of the Patriarch of Antioch —a title claimed by no less than three church dignitaries. Leaving it to subtle theologians to settle the dispute, we may briefly define the position of the Jacobites in Malabar in respect of the above controversies. While they accept the qualifying epithets pronounced by the decree passed at the Council of Chalcedon in regard to the union of the two natures in Christ, they object to the use of the word two in referring to the same. So far they are practically at one with the Armenians, for they also condemn the Eutychian doctrine; and a Jacobite candidate for holy orders in the Syrian church, has among other things, to take an oath denouncing Eutyches and his teachers.'[1]

Prevalence of the Nestorian heresy among the Syrian Christians already referred to, is being denied by the Syro-Romans who say that the Portuguese missionaries, bishops, priests, and writers are completely mistaken in styling them as Nestorians in belief; and because of this false report, all subsequent writers continued to call them so. In support of their contention they maintain that there always had been a small body of the Chaldeans of Mesopotomia who remained true to their faith, and from them they received their bishops. They were Chaldeans of an oriental rite in communion with Rome and holding the Catholic faith. They contend that the Portuguese did not convert them from any heresy, but only made them submit to the jurisdiction of the bishops of the Latin rite having cut off their relation with the Chaldean Catholic Patriarch of Babylon.

They say that the saints were notoriously keen in detecting heresy and maintained that the aged bishop described by St. Francis as serving God

1 *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. vi, p. 420-2.

for forty-five years in this country could not have been a heretic, and also that the Syrian Christians for whom St. Francis asked for indulgences could not have been in schism. Further it is pointed out that the Portuguese garrison at Cannanore heard the Syrian Mass of the Bishops, and in A.D. 1348 the Syrian Christians at Quilon paid money to John Marignoli as the Pope Clement's legate. It is also said that the word Nestorianism is very loosely applied by the Portuguese historians, and often denotes orientals and not heretics. Further, on many occasions, the Portuguese priests came to the Syrian churches and had their masses offered in them and in turn, the Syrian priests also offered their masses in the churches belonging to the Portuguese, and on many occasions the former heard the confession of the Syrians and gave them Holy Communion. Many other arguments are adduced by the Romo-Syrians in support of their contention, and a few monographs[1] are published in this connexion. They now deny the credit of the Portuguese in the conversion of the Syrian Christians to the Roman Catholic faith. As the treatment of the subject is purely ethnological and not historical, it is not my intention to enter into the merits of the controversy.

Very little is known of the history of the Syrian church for six centuries prior to the advent of the Portuguese. During this period the Syrian Christians had very much fallen off in ceremonial purity. For as observed by Sir William Hunter, 'For a thousand years from the fifth to the fifteenth century, the Jacobite sect dwelt in the middle of the Nestorianism of Central Asia,'[2] so that both the Nestorian and the Jacobite bishops must have accepted the invitations of the Syrian Christians in Malabar, who never troubled themselves about the subtle disputations and doctrinal differences that divided their co-religionists in Europe and Asia Minor. They were on this account unable to distinguish between Nestorianism and any other form of Christianity.[3]

Dr. Day refers to the arrival in India of the Jacobite and Syrian bishops who built churches and looked after the religious affairs of the Syrians. Marco Polo who visited India during the thirteenth century speaks of the prevalence of Nestorianism in India. In the next century the first Latin missionary, John of Monte Carvino, Friar Jordanus and John de Margnoli arrived in Malabar and made converts, but their labours were ineffectual.[4]

[1] I. Were the St. Thomas' Christians Nestorians? A Dialogue between Father Vanerello and Mr. Raggio, p. 32.

II. *Orthodoxy of the St. Thomas' Christians*, by the Rev. C. George Kathanar, Kottayam, 1900, pp. 6–100.

III. *A Synopsis of the history of the Syrian Church in Malabar*, by a Syrian Catholic, Kottayam, 1910, pp. 40.

IV. Defensio Indici Apostolatus Divi Thomae Apostoli et Orthodoxiæ Christianoram Auctore, R.P.A., Kaliancara, Cochin, 1912.

[2] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. i, pp. 441.

[3] *Travancore State Manual*, vol. ii, pp. 157–8.

[4] *Land of the Perumals: Cochin Past and Present.*

History of the Syrian Church during the Portuguese Period

Until the advent of the Portuguese to India, the Syrian church was following without any hindrance, in its ritual, practice and communion, a creed of the Syro-Chaldean church of the East. Conquest and conversion was as dear to the heart of the Portuguese as were enterprise and commerce. At first they gladly welcomed the Syrians as their brother Christians, and never thought of interfering with their doctrines, but they had soon to change their attitude towards them. The latter had their mother church at Babylon with their Patriarch at Mosul in Asia Minor, and were of Nestorian faith. This was shocking to the Portuguese who after the conquest of territories and the establishment of their capital or head-quarters at Goa, soon entered on a policy of conversion, and their first care was to intercept all correspondence with the eastern Patriarchs and to prevent communion with them. Franciscan and Dominican friars and Jesuit Fathers worked vigorously to win the Syrian Christians to the Roman Catholic Communion.[1] They established the inquisition at Goa in 1560 and a Jesuit church and seminary were founded at Vaippakotta near Cranganore in the latter of which was given instruction in theology, in Latin, Portuguese and Syriac languages. A college was also founded at Cranganore by Friar Vincent with the assistance of the Viceroy and a bishop of Goa for the education of the Syrian youths in the doctrine and ritual of Rome. Xavier wrote home to his royal patron urging him to endow this college intimating that it would be the means of greatly increasing the number of the adherents to his church.

The Cranganore college became a failure, for the Syrians looked with suspicion even upon their own children who had been educated there, and refused to recognize the Romish orders they had received regarding their latinized habits and customs as so many marks of apostacy from the faith of their forefathers. Vincent intimated his intention to hand over this institution to the Jesuits in the event of his decease, and Xavier wrote about it to the head of his own order, Ignatius Loyala and to his friend Simon Roderick, requesting them to procure indulgences from the Pope for the Syrian church; and also to send out an active Jesuit missionary to itinerate in the sixty villages of the Syrian Christians. Thus under the immediate auspices of the pious and amiable Francis Xavier, the Jesuits were introduced into Malabar to work among the ancient Christian congregations!

The Jesuits were at first much more successful than Friar Vincent. The pupils were carefully instructed in Syriac and well grounded in the Romish faith, but their antipathy to Romanism was so strong that they would not utter a word against the ancient dogmas and customs of the church of their

[1] *Vide The Syrian Church in India*, chapter xiv, pp. 198-224.

forefathers or offer an apology for those of Rome. The Jesuits were completely defeated in their expectations and this led to an open conflict with the Syrian Metrans (bishops) in which the most odious and tyrannical measures were adopted. The dignitaries of the Syrian church refused to ordain students trained in the seminary. The whole plan of the campaign was arranged upon the appointment of Menezes, the new Archbishop of whom the Pope Clement VIII issued a brief dated January 27, 1595, in which he was directed 'to make an inquisition into the crimes and errors of Mar Abraham the Nestorian bishop of Angamali. In the event of the Nestorian bishop being found guilty of such things as he had been accused of, he was to be apprehended and secured in Goa. The Archbishop was to appoint a Vicar Apostolic of the Roman Communion over Mar Abraham's bishopric, and upon his death, he was to allow no bishop of Babylon to enter the Serra to succeed him. Menezes could not win over Mar Abraham to his side. He died in 1597, and was succeeded by Archdeacon George who also remained unyielding. He openly declared that he and his party would submit to no bishop except the one sent to them by the Patriarch of Babylon. The Syrians further swore to stand beside the Archdeacon in defence of their faith. These resolutions of the Synod of Angamali were immediately published in all the churches, and this movement of the Archdeacon had so far roused the Syrians whose feelings were so strongly excited that they resolved no longer to admit any Latin priests in their churches.

When Alex-de-Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, heard of the movement, he arrived at Cochin in January 26, 1599, where he was received with great pomp. He then visited the important Syrian churches and the seminary and ordained as many as one hundred and fifty-three priests. Armed with the terrors of the inquisition, invested with the spiritual authority of the Pope and encouraged in his efforts by the Portuguese king whose governors readily backed him up, he held the Synod at Diamper or Udayamperur on Sunday June 20, 1599, the third Sunday after Whitsuntide. The first sitting began with a solemn mass for the removal of schism and a sermon by himself on the same subject, after which dressed in full pontificals and seated in his chair, he solemnly addressed the Synod on business matters with the aid of a pious and faithful interpreter who could enable the whole assembly fully to comprehend the wording of the decrees. After this all the clerical members of the Synod were compelled to a solemn oath in which they were directed to profess their faith not only in the Nicene Creed, but also in all those Romish additions which are contained in the creed of Pope Pius IV; and to swear to God that they would never receive into their church 'any bishop, archbishop, prelate, pastor or governor,' unless expressly appointed by the bishop of Rome. Jacob Cattanar read the profession in Malayalam and the clergy repeated it after him on their knees. They were

also advised individually to have their firm belief in the statements made above, and made to 'swear and protest to God by the Holy Gospel, and the Cross of Christ' in proof thereof. The lay delegates were also then made to do the same 'in their own name and in the name of the people of the bishopric.' Thus Archbishop Menezes and his Jesuit assistants had the satisfaction of having converted the whole church and made believers in the whole range of Tridentine dogma. Many other changes were also introduced. The Syriac language was allowed, but the Syrian mass was altered, and the mass thus altered at the Synod, is the one used by the Syro-Romans even to this day. The Service Books of the churches were expurgated and all Nestorian passages expunged. The popular Nestorian books were all destroyed. The doctrine of transubstantiation with all its attendant departures, doctrines concerning penance and extreme unction, celibacy of the clergy, reformation of the church affairs, reformation of manners were all changed after the Romish fashion.

After the Synod had passed all the decrees, Menezes delivered his final charge to the assembly. A procession was made round the church, during which *Te Deum* was sung by choir and people. This ended, the Archbishop pronounced his benediction to which the Archdeacon responded aloud 'Let us depart in peace' and the Synod broke up. Thus the Synod of Udayamperur came to an end after a session of six days on June 26, 1599.

The Archbishop then spent two more months in visiting and organizing the churches, and soon after returned to Goa. But the Jesuit government became so intolerable to the Syrian Christians that they resolved to have a bishop of their own from the East and applied to Babylon, Alexandria, Antioch and other head-quarters, as if the Ecclesiastics possessed the same creed. A man named Ahatalla otherwise known as Mar Ignatius was accordingly sent by the Patriarch of Antioch, but was on the way intercepted by the Portuguese who secured him at Goa and shipped him off to Europe. According to another account he was either drowned in the Cochin harbour or burned at the inquisition at Goa. This cruel deed so far provoked a large body of the Syrians that they met in solemn conclave at the Coonan Cross at Mattanchery in Cochin, and with one voice renounced their allegiance to the Church of Rome. This incident marks an epoch in the history of the Syrian church, and led to a separation of the community into two parties, namely, the Pazhayakuru (the Romo-Syrians) who adhered to the Church of Rome according to the Synod at Diamper; and the Puttankuru, the Jacobite Syrians, who after the oath of the Coonan Cross got Mar Gregory from Antioch, acknowledged the spiritual supremacy thereof. The former owed its foundation to the Archbishop Menezes and the Synod at Diamper in 1599, and its reconciliation after revolt to the Carmelite Bishop Father Joseph of St. Mary, whom the Pope appointed in 1659 without the knowledge of the king of Portugal as the Vicar Apostolic of Malabar. It retains

in its services the Syrian language and ritual and acknowledges the spiritual authority of the Pope and the Vicar Apostolic. The members of this party are known as the Catholics of the Syrian rite to distinguish them from the converts direct from heathenism to the Latin Church of the Roman missionaries.

Review

The Veneration of the Cow in India

A lengthy paper under the above title appears in the current issue of *Folk-Lore* written by W. Crooke, Esq., President of the Folk-Lore Society. Writings of his are deserving of attention, and from the vast number of authorities he quotes it is evident that he is both widely read and open-minded. Both standard works and also small monographs dealing generally with quite other subjects he has drawn into his argument, in some cases books which have appeared only within the last few weeks. At the outset he traces the wide respect and veneration in which the cow and her products are held throughout India; but one is disposed somewhat to question his appreciation of the position when he declares that 'On the whole it may be said that reverence for the cow and passionate resistance to its slaughter are the most powerful links which bind together the chaotic complex of beliefs which we designate by the name of Hinduism.' In his description of the general position of the cow in India he makes use of the attitude of the lower tribes, such as Gonds, Todas and Kafirs, to the cow and buffalo, and to their taboo of the use of milk—a sidelight on the problem that is often entirely shut out.

In seeking an explanation of the widespread veneration in India Mr. Crooke goes much deeper than is usual, as indeed the subject deserves. He is not content to accept the economic argument, that the early dwellers in India found the cow a useful animal and so gradually legislated her protection. Nor can he think that the doctrine of transmigration has had much to do with the development of the idea of the sanctity of the cow, though doubtless this belief sustains a belief already based on other foundations. Totemism, also, is rejected, as the prohibition is too general for such an explanation; Dr. Frazer has noted how seldom the cow or buffalo appears in his exhaustive lists of Indian totems. Mr. Crooke points out how widespread not only in India but also among the nations of antiquity, in Egypt, Babylonia and Asia Minor, was the worship of various deities under the symbol of the bull, while the worship of Mother Earth was performed under the symbol of the cow. He traces the origin of the veneration to that early stage of pastoral life when the kinship of man with his domesticated animals was recognized, and argues that the cow was protected as a member of the primitive family. Even though this point be emphasized, it is permissible to proceed to a recognition of the use of the flesh of the animal in ritual and sacrifice. It is this aspect of the development that is still preserved among aboriginal tribes. He makes suggestions as to the way Indian history has favoured the development of the veneration of the cow up to the present stage. There is much in this paper that is suggestive, the inquiry seems to me to be on the right lines, and that, pushed on these lines, the remark of Mr. V. A. Smith, the distinguished historian, will become less and less true. 'The problem of the origin of the intense feeling of reverence for the cow, now felt by all Hindus, is a very curious one and still unsolved.' It is the last phrase which with the development of anthropology must suffer modification.

Mr. Crooke sums up the suggestion advanced in his paper as follows:—

'We find the cow domesticated and regarded as taboo or "sacred", not necessarily a totem, from that very early period when the Indo-Aryans and their kinsmen the Iranians still formed one united community. At this stage of culture the kinship of man with the

animal world, and particularly with the domesticated cattle of the tribe, was fully recognized; and, as is not uncommon with tribes in the pastoral or agricultural stage of culture, the kinsmen by the periodical sacrifice and ritualistic eating of the flesh of the sacred animal sought to gain communion with the divine. In later days, when the foreigner, an eater of beef, entered the land and became to some extent Hinduized, it became unnecessary for him to abandon his usual food, because its consumption had now acquired a local ritualistic sanction. We have seen that traces of this communal sacrifice may still be traced among the Kafirs, and particularly among the Todas, and that the rite is still performed in effigy by certain castes or tribes. Gradually, for reasons which are at present obscure, a feeling of humanitarianism spread through Northern India, which resulted in the restriction of blood sacrifices and the sacramental eating of the victim. But the use of beef was not immediately discontinued among the imperfectly Hinduized foreigners, and still holds its ground among the menial and forest tribes. If this view be accepted, it supplies an interesting parallel to the theory of Professor Ridgeway, that the flesh-roasting and flesh-eating Achæans were a foreign tribe which migrated from Northern Europe into Greece. The association of Buddhism with the Kshatriya or warrior group helps to furnish an explanation of the comparative indifference of the new faith towards the Brahman cult of the cow. With the rise of the neo-Brahmanism the protection and veneration of the cow were revived and extended. The cult of Mother Earth now adopted into orthodox beliefs, the ascetic missionary organization, the introduction of the worship of Siva with the bull as his attendant, the rise of the cult of Krishna, the adoption of the animal into the domestic ritual conducted under Brahman supervision, these were all developments of the same movement, which ended in the adoption of the sanctity of the cow as one of the chief bonds of connexion between the many rival sects, each provided with its own body of dogma and ritual, which now form the amorphous mass of beliefs constituting Hinduism, as we observe it at the present day.

F. G.

Reviews and Notices of Books, etc.

A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times

By Radhakmundh Mukherji, Messrs. Longmans & Co., 7*s.* 6*d.*

The central position of India in the Indian Ocean basin is an outstanding fact of nature and the consequences of this position upon the history of the Indian peoples has been practically a sealed book so far except for an occasional hint here and there from foreign authors. The whole body of evidence bearing upon this important question—the maritime activity of the Indians and their position among sea-faring nations of the world—is passed in review in the volume before us in such a way as to give the subject an entirely new aspect. In a general review of the development of a nation's achievements in a field of activity, such as the maritime, it would be out of place to enter into detail research as to dates and facts. Professor Mukherji rightly abstains from doing this, passing from epoch to epoch and presenting on the whole a general conspectus of the history of this particular activity.

Taking his stand on the Yuktikalpataru, a book on the art and craft of ship-building, he makes use of evidence derivable from literature, coins, architecture and even folk songs and stories to delineate this history, and deserves to be congratulated on the success he has achieved in presenting the whole of this history in a handy and pleasing form. Passing in review the evidences traceable in these sources in Part I of the first book, he deals with the historical facts bearing upon the question in nine periods in Part II. It may be useful

to indicate at any rate some of the periods he has adopted. The first two are Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan. The third is the Andhra-Kushana period which is the period of intercourse with Rome, just as the second was the period of intercourse with the Greek empire and the first with the Chaldean. The fourth and fifth are periods of Hindu imperialism under the Guptas and Harshavandhana. It was in this period that there was considerable activity in colonization. The intercourse with further India was so great and even permanent, as in the colonization of Java from Guzerat, that there is justification for regarding it as the period of the foundation of Greater India. The next two periods are periods of activity of the Bengali and of intercourse with China by way of the sea. Then comes a period of maritime activity on the west coast, and Book I ends with the Hindu imperialism in South India which was the period in which the Hindu emperors of the south laid claims to conquest of Burma.

Then comes Book II dealing with Pre-Mughal period, the reign of Akbar and the period from Akbar to Aurangazeb. The similarity between the elaborate regulations laid down for the marine department of Chandragupta in the Artha Sastra and those of Akbar are pointed out. Some of the little known incidents in the maritime activities of the province of Bengal in the wars of Aurangzeb are dealt with in considerable detail.

We must, however, protest against the transliteration of South Indian names adopted in the book. The blame is not the author's as he follows a South Indian authority, the late Mr. Kanakasabbai Pillai. To give only an instance or two; among the list of activities will be found Erukkaddur-Thayan-Kannanar, Oaranara-Puram-Paddinapalai. Even Tamil scholars would find their ingenuity fail them in discovering what these names stand for; but Kalinga-Huparani is a positive blunder for which Mr. Pillai could not have been responsible. It is Kalingattupparani. On page 66, note 1, the text quoted has Purushapuram; but the translation has it Pushpapur (Patna). If the rendering is deliberate it needs an explanation.

Nevertheless Professor Mukherji has laid students of Indian history under a deep debt of obligation by his labours.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

The Cochin Tribes and Castes by L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, B.A., L.T. Vol. II

In this volume Mr. Anantakrishna Iyer deals with the higher castes. These are groups of people higher in social grade no doubt, but none the less interesting to the ethnologist, as they are of a peculiar character in many ways. The Nayers come in certainly for treatment in the first place. These are an ancient people with social customs the most outstanding feature of which is the matriarchate. They are referred to in Pliny under the name Nareae. The origin of these people is shrouded in obscurity and different theories as to it still hold the field. Prof. A. C. Haddon of Christ's College, Cambridge, who contributes the preface to this volume, owing to the illness of Professor A. H. Keene, gives it as his opinion that the matriarchate of the Nayers is an institution traceable to the ancient Nagas in whose case it was associated with polyandry. The non-sacramental and non-legal character of the sumbandham or the Nayer marriage as detailed by Mr. Anantakrishna Iyer, Professor Haddon seems to trace to polyandry which in this locality received encouragement from various circumstances, among which the organization in Tarwards and Nambudhri dominance are prominent. The military organization of the Nayers must have led, as among other people, similarly organized, to the inconsequential position of the husbands in the first instance. The advent of the Nambudhri with a number of wifeless males must have directly encouraged the social system they found in vogue.

The Nambudhris are the next people that come in for elaborate treatment. These are regarded as intruding Northerners who came and settled in the country as warriors. To

preserve intact their dominance, the rule is enforced of the eldest male member alone being allowed to marry. It is not possible even to indicate in the brief length of a review all that is interesting or peculiar in these people. Mr. Anantakrishna Iyer's carefully compiled accounts will repay perusal. The other interesting communities in which the little State of Cochin is rich and which are treated of in this volume are the Mapillas, the Jews, white and black, and the Syrian Christians.

We join with Professor A. C. Haddon in congratulating Mr. Anantakrishna Iyer on his good fortune in being able to present the public with the results of his investigations on the customs and beliefs of the people of the State of Cochin in the handsome volume which is quite a worthy compeer of his first.

S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYANGAR.

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